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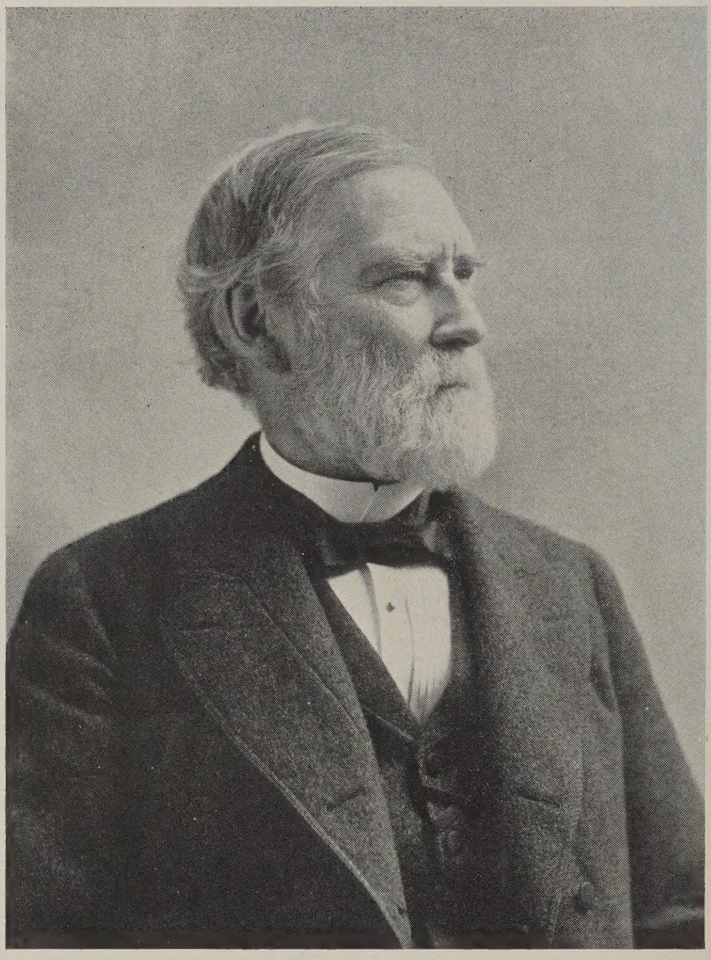

George Davidson

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GEORGE DAVIDSON, GEOGRAPHER OF THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA

ALTHOUGH George Davidson died as recently as 1911 he seems to us to have lived in another age. A man of the most varied attainments and devoted to the interests of his adopted state, he had lived a long and useful life. We seem to be in danger of forgetting his services to us so it seems fitting that some record of his achievements, in geography at least, should be perpetuated in the pages of the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society which once published one of his valuable papers. Davidson was apparently a member of the third reincarnation of the Society, effected in the spring of 1886. At the November meeting he read an article "The identification of the landfalls of the early Spanish navigators on the coast of California 1539-1603." March 12, 1889, he read his famous paper on the "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's anchorage on the coast of California in the year 1579," and again March 10, 1891, another on the discovery of Humboldt Bay. At this time he was vice-president of the Society. When in February, 1903, it was proposed to revive the Society which had become moribund he was one of the gentlemen to prepare the circular which appeared in March. Sufficient support was not forthcoming to effect the reorganization, so the matter was dropped. The first-mentioned paper was printed by the California Academy of Sciences, and the "Discovery of Humboldt Bay" appeared under the auspices of the Geographical Society of the Pacific.

When gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in California in January, 1848, the United States had but *de facto* possession of what was then a territory of the United States of Mexico. A few months later juridical possession was obtained through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Thus California had become a part of the United States when the rush of gold seekers began. This movement, which soon assumed enormous proportions, made it incumbent upon the United States government to provide more exact information regarding the coast and the approaches to the ports for the vessels which now began to arrive in large numbers. At this day it is a little difficult to determine with what kind of chart most of the captains of these vessels were provided, but so far as known they were of English manufacture. Davidson once said that some of the ships arrived with only maps from school atlases. In the main, any chart must have derived from those of Vancouver, with such modifications as had been introduced by Captains Beechey, Hall and Belcher. Beechey's survey of San Francisco Bay still appeared on the English maps as late as 1853. Monterey and San Diego had also been examined several times by English navigators. In the

north, Captain Henry Kellett had made a reconnaissance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and some of its tributary waters in 1846 and 1847. The only American expedition on the coast with any pretense to scientific aims had been that of Charles Wilkes in 1841, and no doubt his maps were used by many of the American navigators.

October 27, 1848, Alexander Dallas Bache, then superintendent of the Coast Survey, directed a communication to William P. McArthur, at that time a lieutenant in the U. S. Navy, to take charge of the hydrographic party to commence a survey of the western coast. The schooner *Ewing* was assigned to him for use in the work. McArthur left New York in the spring of 1849 by steamer for Panama, while the *Ewing* proceeded around Cape Horn. He reached San Francisco on the *Humboldt,* in fact in command of her, and in the middle of September the *Ewing* arrived. McArthur's troubles now began. It was impossible to obtain men at government wages to navigate the vessel or carry on the survey. Some local work was done in the bay around Benicia, and in December the *Ewing* went to the Hawaiian Islands, evidently in an effort to secure a crew. Early in 1850 McArthur returned and was unable to secure men enough to man his vessel until April 3, when he departed for the north, principally to make an examination of the mouth of the Columbia River and the close vicinity. On this expedition he was obviously accompanied by Washington A. Bartlett, a lieutenant in the navy who had come out in the *Portsmouth* and had performed some *ex officio* duties in acting as alcalde of San Francisco. The *Ewing* stopped at Trinidad Bay and reached the mouth of the Columbia about June 1. From here McArthur proceeded by the steamer *Carolina* to Victoria and thence to Nisqually. By July 15 he was back in Astoria, having returned overland. He left Astoria August 7, and arrived in San Francisco August 22. On the way down from the Columbia he was fortunate to make a good examination of the coast. As a result he drew up a reconnaissance chart from Monterey to the mouth of the Columbia River in three sheets on the scale of about 1 inch to 13½ miles and accompanied this with a report dated San Francisco, September 25. About October 15, Lieutenant Bartlett left for Washington with the chart and also evidently with the text which was to accompany it. McArthur himself received instructions to return to Washington to examine a new steamer which had been contracted for work on the coast. He left on the *Oregon* December 1 but died just as the vessel was entering Panama Harbor December 23.* As soon as Bartlett reached Washington the Coast Survey hastened to have the chart engraved and published. No doubt copies were ready by the first of the year and must have immediately been put upon the market, but they are usually found attached to the Coast Survey Report for 1851. To accompany the chart

* The above information about McArthur is largely derived from a pamphlet by his grandson, Lewis A. McArthur, *Pacific Coast Survey of 1849 and 1850,* by Lewis A. McArthur, Portland, Oregon, 1915. This pamphlet contains also extracts and quotations from the *Notices of the Western Coast of the United States.* Although in the proceedings of the meeting of his fellow officers to pay tribute to his memory in Washington in the following February it is stated that he died on December 22, the McArthur family records and those of the Navy Department give the date of his death as December 23.

the Coast Survey issued a pamphlet in twenty-four pages entitled *Notices of the Western Coast of the United States: December 1850.* It bears the imprint, "Washington 1851," so it probably was not actually issued until January. It consists of eight short articles, six by McArthur and two by Bartlett. The principal one was McArthur's "Sailing directions to accompany the new chart of the western coast of the United States, first edition published December, 1850." This has the distinction of being the first sailing directions on this coast emanating from the United States authorities and was the forerunner of those later published by George Davidson.

In 1849 Cadwalader Ringgold, a commander in the U. S. Navy, then in San Francisco, was requested by a number of the enterprising citizens of that city to undertake a survey of San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento as far as the city of that name. In November, after examining the Sacramento River, he encountered McArthur at Benicia, then engaged in surveying that neighborhood at the request of the board of officers entrusted with the selection of sites for naval and military stations. Ringgold managed to get back to Washington and have his charts printed in 1851, having, as he states in his Introduction, secured the permission of Superintendent Bache of the Survey to connect his survey with that of McArthur. One of Ringgold's charts was a general one which included the coast from Pt. San Pedro to about 38° 38′ of latitude, as he had done considerable work on the Farallones and the entrance to San Francisco Harbor. His work, which is entitled "A series of charts with sailing directions embracing surveys of the Farallones, entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, etc.," is an interesting one, illustrated with some quite charming views of the scenery. It had a great success, as many as five editions being issued before the end of 1852. The two men, however, who were mainly responsible for the survey of the coast, George Davidson and James Alden, came out in 1850.

George Davidson was born in Nottingham, England, May 9, 1825, of Scotch parents from Montrose on the east coast. The family moved to Philadelphia in the spring of 1832, and here the son was brought up. He passed through the public schools, and while a student at the Central High School studied astronomy under Bache. Even as a boy he became so proficient in astronomical work that he held the position of night observer and computer at the observatory of Girard College in 1842-44. Bache was appointed to head the U. S. Coast Survey in December, 1843, and on June 1, 1845, after Davidson's graduation at the end of a four years' course he gave him a position in the service. In 1847 Bache destined Davidson to survey Puget Sound and the Columbia but Congress failed to make an appropriation for the work. Some few years were passed as computer and observer, and in observations for latitude and longitude, until in 1849 he was chosen to take charge of the astronomical work on the Pacific Coast. Owing to the impossibility of retaining hands for land positions in California without exceeding authorized expenditures, four of the younger men of the survey, Davidson, James S. Lawson, A. S. Harrison, and John Rockwell volunteered to go and do even the manual work for one year. The party arrived

at San Francisco in June, 1850, on the *Tennessee*. Davidson, the chief, enjoyed the princely salary of $800 a year and had to find himself, while the others received $30 per month and found. The party was divided, Davidson and Lawson undertaking the geographical and astronomical work, and Harrison and Rockwell plane-table surveys. They had nothing to do with hydrographic work, this being assigned to Lieutenant James Alden. Alden, a native of Portland, Maine, had entered the navy, April 1, 1828, and was later attached to the Wilkes expedition. During the war he was appointed commodore, and afterward came back to California as commander of Mare Island. In 1869 he returned to Washington. He died in San Francisco in 1877.

McArthur's charts were based on the assumption that the longitudes of San Francisco and the mouth of the Columbia as determined by Wilkes in 1841 were correct. The first work assigned to Davidson was to determine by astronomical observations the correct positions of Pt. Conception, Pt. Pinos, Pt. Loma and Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia. This was accomplished in the summer and fall of 1850, three and one-half months being spent at Pt. Conception, and in 1851, when work was begun on the north. The *Ewing* conveyed Davidson and his assistant from place to place. Trinidad Bay and Humboldt Bay and Cape Disappointment were examined and after the return from the north in August, 1851, Alden made a reconnaissance south of San Francisco in a chartered brig, the *Quickstep*. The result of the two years' campaign was the publication of charts of Pt. Conception and Pt. Pinos; Trinidad, San Diego, San Francisco and Humboldt bays (all by Alden), and two of the mouth of the Columbia by McArthur.

In 1852, an old paddle-wheel steamer named the *Active* was purchased and placed under the command of Alden. At the end of July, Alden went to the Columbia and then north to Cape Flattery and Neah Bay. Davidson accompanied him. On the return in October, heavy weather was encountered. Davidson wished to land at Mendocino but the surf was too heavy. His work is detailed in a report dated Astoria, October 3 (App. 17 to the Report of the U. S. Coast Survey for 1852). On the way south, Shoalwater Bay was examined. The result of this year's campaign was a "Reconnaissance Chart of the western coast from San Francisco to San Diego" and charts of Monterey, Catalina Harbor, San Pedro Bay, the ports in the Channel Islands, the City of San Francisco, Coxo Anchorage, San Simeon and San Luis Obispo, all by Alden. The main chart, the "Reconnaissance Chart" of the coast was by Alden, adjusted to the geographical positions ascertained by Davidson, and this system continued in use for the coast charts for some time.

In 1853, the main object was to complete a more minute hydrographical reconnaissance from San Francisco to the northern boundary with astronomical observations to determine the geographical positions. From October, 1852, to March, 1853, observations were made at San Francisco and the position of Pt. Reyes determined by Davidson. Topographical work was continued in the south, Capt. E. O. C. Ord taking up Davidson's unfinished work in September.

In June, Alden and Davidson went north, stopping at Bodega Bay, Haven's Anchorage, Mendocino City, Shelter Cove, Humboldt and Trinidad, Port St. George and Port Orford and the Umpqua River. Then the party went to the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The Haro passage was examined; no observations were made here but a station was erected on Lummi Island. In a resumé of his own services, in the University of California Library, is a statement that on this occasion Davidson made a secret survey of the ship channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland. The result of the campaign was a new edition of Alden's "Reconnaissance Chart from San Francisco to San Diego," a new one of San Diego entrance by Davidson, preliminary sketch of Santa Barbara by Alden and Harrison, progress sketch of the survey of San Francisco Bay and vicinity, a "Reconnaissance Chart from Gray's Harbor to Admiralty Inlet" by Alden, a preliminary survey of Shoalwater Bay by Alden, and charts of Cape Flattery, Neah Bay, and reconnaissance of False Dungeness Harbor, all by Alden and Davidson.

In 1854 the work in the north was continued. Davidson again attempted to land at Mendocino, but finding it impossible proceeded to Humboldt Bay and observed the partial eclipse of the sun there on May 26. In June he returned to San Francisco to obtain a vessel for his own use. This was a brig he named the *R. H. Fauntleroy* after, as Bache says—"one of the most meritorious officers of the survey who lost his life in the service." In July he sailed in this for the north, having advanced his own funds for expenses as the appropriation for the fiscal year was not yet available. He was accompanied by Lawson, and together they made a reconnaissance survey of Puget Sound. Thirty-two stations were occupied to establish longitudes here and in Haro and Rosario straits. In July Alden went north from the Columbia. The cartographical results were a "Reconnaissance of the western coast from San Francisco to the Umpqua River" by Alden, charts of Anacapa, Santa Cruz and Pt. Año Nuevo in the south, Shelter Cove, Mendocino, Crescent City Harbor, Port Orford, the mouth of the Umpqua River, and one of the Columbia (re-survey), a reconnaissance of Grenville Harbor, Port Townsend, Duwamish Bay and one of Haro and Rosario straits.

In 1855 work was continued by Davidson in triangulating Admiralty Inlet to the entrance of Hood Canal. He left San Francisco at the close of May, and at the end of the work in October returned to San Francisco. Alden's first work was at the entrance of San Francisco Bay. He then went north taking Lieutenant W. P. Trowbridge with him to measure the tides at Cape Flattery and farther north. His report is dated San Francisco, November 3 (App. 29 of the Report for the year 1855), and contains a good description of the waters of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the coast south to the Columbia. The results were a "Progress Sketch of Washington Sound and vicinity," charts of San Pedro, Drake's Bay and Pt. Reyes, the South Farallon, Vicinity of Santa Barbara, and Alden's "Reconnaissance of the western coast of the United States (northern sheet) from Umpqua River to the boundary," with geographical positions by Davidson. This excellent map contains sketches of various landmarks and gen-

eral sailing directions from Umpqua River northward. It is on a scale of 1:1,200,000. Included in the Report for the year is W. P. Blake's "Physical Geography of the mountain ranges of California adjoining the coast," with four geological maps.

Davidson and Lawson now returned East. They had been five years in active service, and the superintendent intended to assign them to other duties but both signified their desire to return to California. Davidson had suffered greatly from rheumatism but as the superintendent expressed it "his persevering energy has kept him in the field." He presented the superintendent with a "Descriptive report upon localities on the western coast of the United States from the north entrance of Rosario Strait to the southern boundary of California." Extracts from it were published in the Report for 1855, Appendices Nos. 26 and 76. The latter is dated February 3, 1855, so Davidson may have sent it by mail the preceding winter. The superintendent in speaking of this report calls it "the beginning of what must grow up into one of the most useful documents in government survey." The proper names of localities were giving a great deal of trouble to the Coast Survey. He considered that it was of the greatest importance to trace the history of discovery on the coast, to ascertain the original and the successive names of places, and to go back to the earlier ones when the later ones had not become too permanently attached to the locality. His aim was to make the Coast Survey maps and charts the standards for names and their spelling, as well as for the geography of the country. To obtain some assistance on these lines he enlisted the support of Dr. J. G. Kohl, and Kohl prepared a report giving a complete historical account of the progress of discovery as connected with the hydrography of the western coast from Coronado Islands to Cape Scott* and attached to his report an historical map, a collection of maps, lists of names on the coast, and a catalogue of books, etc., relating to the subject. Kohl suggested that a geographical description of the whole coast should be compiled from the records of the Coast Survey, and this the superintendent stated would be prepared, Kohl's views falling in exactly, he stated, with those he had commenced to execute for the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. In this suggestion of Dr. Kohl and in the remarks of Superintendent Bache we can discern the origin of Davidson's *Directory of the Pacific Coast*, which no doubt he now began to prepare.

The summer of 1856 Davidson spent in Puget Sound on the *Fauntleroy*. In July he measured the baseline at Port Townsend of 2859½ meters on the same plan as used in Los Angeles in 1853. The cartographical results were, in the south: charts of Cortes' Bank, the harbor at the southeast end of San Clemente Island, Anacapa and part of Santa Cruz, entrance to San Francisco Bay, and San Pablo Bay; in the north: charts of Shoalwater Bay, False Dungeness and New Dungeness harbors by Lawson and Alden, Port Ludlow, Port Gamble, Olympia Harbor, Steilacoom, Bellingham Bay and Birch Bay, and Blakely Harbor. The map of the western coast of the United States is just a sketch map with the results up to 1854.

* Printed in the Survey Report for 1884, pp. 495-617.

In 1857 Davidson was partly employed in triangulation from Sonoma Mountain to Monterey. During the preceding winter he visited Tomales Bay. His party left San Francisco for the north April 1 in the *Fauntleroy* but had to return for repairs to the vessel on account of stormy weather. Davidson's health was so bad that he was obliged to remain in San Francisco under treatment, so Lawson took the *Fauntleroy* north, where Davidson later joined him. In August, Davidson was again taken ill and was a month under treatment. He returned to San Francisco in October, and due to ill health soon left for Washington and reported at the main office at the end of November. Alden, after discovering the submarine valley in Monterey Bay and another off Hueneme, went north where his operations were much hindered by calls on him for assistance by the commissioner of the northwestern boundary. At the end of the summer he returned to the East and Lieutenant Cuyler took his place. The cartographical results, besides the usual progress sketches, were maps of San Diego Bay, Monterey Bay, east entrance to Santa Barbara Channel, Mare Island Strait and San Antonio Strait.

While in Washington, Davidson was evidently occupied in completing his *Directory of the Pacific Coast*. His letter accompanying it bears the date, Kensington, Pennsylvania, August 29, 1858, and in this he states that a small part of the *Directory* had been published in San Francisco and had been sought with avidity although abounding in typographical errors. He further states that he had determined to prepare the book on assuming charge of the brig *Fauntleroy* (that is in 1854), but several years of failing health had prevented him from executing more than his regular duties, until his growing desire to leave the Coast had forced him to occupy his remaining leisure moments in enlarging the matter while yet freshly photographed in his mind. I have not been able to find the extract which he says had been printed in San Francisco, nor to find any other mention of it, but the *Directory* was published in the Report of the Coast Survey for 1858 (App. 44), and separately, with charts of San Francisco and Humboldt Bay in the south, and Port Gamble and Port Townsend, all by Davidson's and Alden's parties, and a Reconnaissance of Semiahmoo Bay by Cuyler. The principal map included in the Report is the "Reconnaissance of Canal de Haro and Strait of Rosario and approaches, Washington territory," by Alden with the geographical positions by Davidson. October 5, at Whiteport, Virginia, Davidson was married to Ellinor Fauntleroy, the daughter of R. H. Fauntleroy for whom his brig was named. Fauntleroy had lived at New Harmony, Indiana, a member of Robert Dale Owen's famous colony.

On Davidson's return to San Francisco November 14, 1858, with his bride, he took up the primary and secondary triangulation north of San Francisco and the astronomical observations connected with it. In the following summer the work in the Washington territory was done by Lawson in the *Fauntleroy*, largely in the Gulf of Georgia. Alden in the *Active* was put under orders of General Winfield Scott, who was in charge of the Indian war in that country. Besides the progress sketches, the only two maps published in this year were the maps of San Pedro Harbor and of Crescent City Harbor.

In the season of 1860, Davidson was at Ross Mountain, Bodega Head, and Sonoma Mountain, where he observed the eclipse of the sun on July 18. While setting up a signal pole at Ross Mountain he was severely injured and was compelled to return to San Francisco. Here his assistant, E. H. Fauntleroy, died May 25. Davidson rejoined his party on June 4. The topography of Drake's Bay was completed by Rogers between December 21, 1859, and June 9, 1860. Davidson was not in the north this year, but Alden was. September 4, he was transferring his party to Station Redwood but received orders to return to Washington. He left San Francisco on November 5 and reported at the head office early in December. For a while he was engaged in re-computing all the observations of vertical angles made by him in 1859 and 1860, but before finishing he was ordered to make a hydrographic resurvey of specific portions of the Delaware.

Maps in the Reports were now getting to be very scarce. Besides the progress sketches, only one of Drake's Bay and approaches was published in that for 1860. In the 1861 Report, charts of Petaluma and Napa creeks and Tomales Bay, and of the Coquille River and of Koos Bay appeared. The principal contribution, however, and most important for several years was a new edition of the "Reconnaissance of Washington Sound and Approaches, Washington Territory. Triangulation and Topography by G. Davidson and J. S. Lawson, Hydrography by the parties under Commander J. Alden and Lt. M. Cuyler." Scale 1:200,000. A note conveys the information that the soundings on the north shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca were the work of Captain Henry Kellett and some others from that of the Wilkes expedition and of Captain Richards, R. N. The fact is that sufficient work had been done on the coast to enable the map makers in Washington connected with the Survey to draw very sound, workable charts of the entire coast included in the United States. The topographic and geodetic work was not completed and the future labors of the Survey officers on the coast were to be mainly directed to filling up the vacant places on the maps.

Davidson remained in the East until after the war was over, being assigned to various duties, such as surveying the Pea Patch in the Delaware River for intended fortifications, assuming charge of one of the stations in the determination, by telegraphic signals over the newly-laid Atlantic cable, of the longitudinal difference between Great Britain and the United States, some surveying work in Florida in the *Vixen,* and finally in an examination of the Isthmus of Darien to determine its practicability for a ship canal. In the *Report of the Survey* for 1862, his *Directory of the Pacific Coast* was reissued with very considerable changes, and was also published separately. In 1865 he made a trip to Europe to bring back his friend, Bache, who had suffered a paralytic stroke in 1864. Bache died February 17, 1867, at Newport, R. I., and was succeeded as superintendent of the Survey by Benjamin Pierce. Pierce had as high an opinion of Davidson and his abilities as had Bache, and on May 18 requested him to undertake a reconnaissance of Alaska, in view of the approaching cession of that country to the United States. He was advised by his physician not to

undertake this task, but, willing to make any sacrifice for the benefit of the work, he consented against his own judgment. He left New York on June 11, and reached San Francisco, July 3.

Davidson's party left San Francisco July 21 on board the U. S. Revenue cutter *Lincoln* under the command of Captain William A. Howard. Victoria was reached on the 27th, and here his old assistant, Lawson, met him with the *Fauntleroy*. On July 29, the *Lincoln* left Victoria and passed up through the channels east of Vancouver Island, and on August 3 reached Fort Simpson. Here the party remained a week examining the botany, geology and conchology of the various anchorages, but an observation on the sun could not be made. On the 11th, in the evening, the vessel entered Sitka Sound, having passed up by the outside route. Here some better observations were obtained and Davidson secured from the governor, Prince Maksoutoff, the records of fourteen years observations of the Russian-American Company. Mr. Theodore A. Blake, a geologist, accompanied the party and made several excursions from here looking for silver ore. August 22, Sitka was left with the intention of proceeding to Port Etches, but the weather was too thick and the pilot headed for St. Paul on Kadiak, which was reached August 26. Five days' stay was made here and then the vessel departed for Unalaska, and September 6 anchored in the bay of Unalaska a few miles from the village of Illioulouk. The party remained there only a week and then returned to Sitka, reaching there September 20. Some further observations were made in the surrounding country, and on October 27 the *Lincoln* started on the return to Victoria, which was reached on November 11.

The results of the Alaska expedition are embodied in a report by Davidson dated San Francisco, November 30, 1867, and published in the Coast Survey Report for that year (App. 18). The latter part of the report contains a "Directory of the coast of Alaska" amplified and republished separately in 1869. Accompanying the report is a general map of Alaska, charts of Sitka Harbor, St. Paul Harbor, and Illioulouk and Captain's Harbor, from observations and topography by Davidson's party. One has only to scan the resumé of Davidson's operations on the Alaska coast to discern that in reality he saw very little of it. His account of the resources and the coast features must therefore have been largely taken from information furnished by the Russians and from Russian charts which he obtained in Sitka. Nevertheless, as the earliest comprehensive account in English of that territory it remains a valuable document. As previously stated the "Directory of the coast of Alaska" was published separately as the *Coast Pilot of Alaska (first part) from southern boundary to Cook's Inlet*. This contains several plates engraved from views that had been taken by Davidson and his party on their tour. In the same year his "Directory of the Pacific Coast" appeared in a third edition, very much enlarged. It contains a number of lithographs and bears a new title, *Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington Territory*.

Superintendent Pierce placed Davidson in charge of a sub-office of the survey in San Francisco in 1868. For the next six or seven years he laid out all the

schemes of geodetic work and inspected the different fields where this was being carried on. In 1869 he visited Alaska and observed the solar eclipse of August 7, on the Chilkat River. At a meeting of the regents of the University of California, November 2, 1870, he was chosen as non-resident professor of astronomy and geodesy without salary, as he was chief of the Pacific division of the Coast Survey and could not accept pay for other duties. January 2, 1872, he became president of the California Academy of Sciences and continued to serve in that capacity until 1887. One of his most interesting expeditions was that in 1873 to San José del Cabo to endeavor to locate the site of the observatory of Chappe d'Auteroche in 1769. He ascertained this approximately and by his own careful observations reached the conclusion that those of his predecessor had been in error only some forty seconds of time. March 3, 1874, he was appointed to give special instruction in the University of California in the methods employed by the United States Survey. Later in the year he went to Japan to observe the transit of Venus; and in 1875 and 1876 continued around the world, especially to investigate methods of irrigation in Egypt, Holland and Italy and India. In 1876 he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Santa Clara College. June 5, 1877, he became a regent of the University of California to succeed John B. Felton, deceased, and continued to serve until March, 1884. In 1878 he went to the Paris exposition to examine astronomical and geodetical instruments of precision, and in 1882 to New Mexico to observe another transit of Venus. In 1881 he was instrumental in organizing the Geographical Society of the Pacific, an institution in which he was the leading spirit, acting as president until his death, and to whose *Proceedings* he contributed most of his geographical articles, beginning in 1884. In 1881 he located and accurately determined the Yolo base line.

In the *Report* of the Survey for 1886 appeared what is Davidson's most important non-technical work on the geography of the Pacific Coast. It is devoted to an examination of the early voyages of discovery and exploration on that coast from 1539 to 1603. He attempted to follow the course of each navigator, identify the various places at which he stopped or which he saw on the coast, and in a sense correlate the results of their examinations. In most respects it is more historical than geographical. His views on the subject had been undergoing almost constant change since he had first published them in the *Directory* of 1858. This was only natural, as when he began to investigate the subject about his only source of information was the *Chronological History* of Burney, which is a very secondary compilation. As he gradually obtained better information he began to modify his views, and we thus find that by 1886 he had centered his whole scheme of identification at Drake's Bay. This he asserted to have been the place where Sir Francis Drake stopped for five or six weeks in 1579 and repaired his ship. At the time the popular idea was that Drake had been in the Bay of San Francisco, an opinion shared by Davidson in 1858. In reality there is just as much evidence to support this view as his later one of 1886, that is to say, there is none at all. Davidson argued from indirect evidence

that Drake could never have been in San Francisco Bay and set up a line of argument from collateral evidence to prove that he had been in Drake's Bay. Although I agree with him that Drake had never been in San Francisco Bay, I am unable to give the importance to the negative evidence which he and most other opponents of that theory stress. This, briefly, is that if Drake had ever seen such a magnificent bay he would have had something more laudatory to say about it and that on his return the Queen would not have wasted a moment in sending out a powerful fleet to take possession of it. I have seen several early accounts of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro without finding that the navigators waxed enthusiastic over it, yet it was much nearer to Europe than San Francisco Bay and quite as remarkable. This could have been of no value to England or to any other European country, either at the time or for several centuries thereafter, so the mere fact that Drake did not voice any enthusiasm over it is no proof that he never saw it.

Davidson's views on the subject of Drake's Bay first appeared in full in 1890 in his *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the year 1579*. This is a fine case of special pleading and was accompanied by partial reproductions of some early charts which he thought were factors in the case but which I have since shown have nothing whatever to do with it. Personally, I believe that his opinion was formed by seeing the name of Sir Francis Drake applied to a port in about the latitude of Drake's Bay on the eighteenth century maps. In my *Some Imaginary California Geography** I have traced what I think to be the origin of this error. The bay had been named "San Francisco" by Cermeño in 1595, and when the Dutch captured a map on which the bay was so labeled, either Goos or more likely Briggs, who both copied it, changed the name to Sir Francisco Draco either to magnify and honor Drake or else in a burst of sardonic humor. Probably Davidson had the idea that the man who put this name on the bay had some valid reason for it. His final word on the subject appeared in 1908 in *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America*. With his vast accurate information regarding the sailing conditions in the North Pacific he had little difficulty in demolishing in this many points advanced by others who were totally ignorant of the realities of the case. They mostly argued from documents and maps, all of which, especially the maps, were extremely inaccurate, and consequently Davidson had a great advantage over them. His conclusion was finally generally accepted, although, as I have said before, there is no solid basis for it.

The perennial question where Drake landed on the northwest coast of America has been brought to the front once more by an article written by Professor E. R. G. Taylor and published in the September number of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Miss Taylor discovered what appears to have been a kind of commonplace book which once belonged to Richard Madox. Madox, to be sure, had not been a member of Drake's party but he did accompany the Fenton expedi-

* Printed in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April, 1926, and also published separately by the Society, Worcester, Mass., 1926.

tion of 1582. With Fenton there were several of Drake's men among whom were at least John Drake, William Hawkins and Thomas Hood. John Drake in his deposition in Lima in 1587 stated that Drake had gone to the Californias in 48° but did not say he repaired his ship there. It is true that, according to Antonio de Herrera, Drake in 1584 said 45°, but this I think hardly warrants us in assuming that Drake made two different statements. Probably Herrera was mistaken. The "Anonymous Narrative" is also authority that Drake reached 48°, but neither did this say that Drake repaired his ship there, but on the contrary that he sailed south from 48° and landed in 44°. In 1592 John Stow published a statement in his *Chronicles* that Drake had gone as far north as 47° and then turned back to 38°. Furthermore, John Davis, in his *Worldes Hydrographical Discription* published in 1595, also says he went to 48°, but makes no mention of Drake stopping there and repairing his ship. The notion therefore that Drake had gone as high as 48°, as related by Madox, is nothing new. It is on a par, so far as value as evidence is concerned, with the statements of Stow and John Davis, and was no doubt derived from a similar source, either the statements of Francis Drake himself or those of some of his partisans, John Drake possibly, in Madox's case. In other words it adds nothing whatever to the information already adduced by John Drake and the "Anonymous Narrative."

The reasons for not believing such statements, no matter by whom made, are so weighty that we are justified in concluding that Drake never reached 48°, either at sea or at land, and that he never stopped six weeks and repaired his ship in any latitude above that of Humboldt Bay, namely, approximately 41°. That he may have reached land north of Humboldt Bay is another matter; there is considerable evidence that he struck the continent somewhere between 42° and 43° of latitude and then sailed south for four degrees. Davidson in his *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America* has examined the question of the highest point reached by Drake in great detail. No man has ever been more familiar with the prevailing winds and currents in the north Pacific than Davidson, and he relegated "the claim that Drake reached the latitude of 48° to the same limbo as that of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, Bartolomeo de Fonte, and Juan de Fuca." And that is precisely where it belongs. The statement by Thomas Madox that Drake repaired his ship in that latitude is, to any one who is familiar with the northwest coast of America, simply preposterous. In that neighborhood the country is covered with vast forests of enormous trees which were standing there in 1579. On what little open country is to be seen, the grass is green in summer and there is not a single harbor sheltered from the northwest wind in the whole range of coast from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the Columbia River, not even Gray's Bay as suggested by Miss Taylor. The fact is that such country, as is described in the *World Encompassed,* as traversed by Drake on his journey to the interior, can only be found south of Cape Mendocino. The only country which corresponds to it in detail is that to the east of Bodega Bay. Elsewhere Drake could hardly have avoided seeing the vast redwood forests

which are scattered all along the coast from Santa Cruz north. It is possible to find in Mendocino County some hills covered with grass burned brown by the summer sun, but the redwoods are everywhere close at hand. The fact that Fletcher did not mention such large trees does not necessarily prove that they were not seen, but his reference to the deciduous trees being without green leaves (a characteristic of the sycamore in summer) seems to point to the fact that they did pay some attention to trees. As contemporary evidence may be added the fact that Hakluyt in his *Famous Voyage* specifically fixes the location of the place where Drake repaired his ship as in 38° or 38½°.

In Madox's memorandum book is preserved a drawing of a *balsa*. As it has a sail it obviously was not one used on the northwest coast, since sails were unknown there before they were introduced by the whites. Such a *balsa* was in use, however, on the coast of Peru, especially in the northern part, and perhaps as Miss Taylor surmises the picture was supposed to represent one of these. However, it is possible that Madox's informant spoke about seeing similar *balsas* on the northwest coast, and he may have introduced the picture of one with a sail, not being aware of the fact that the Indians in that section did not know anything about sails. Certainly if Drake was in the neighborhood of Bodega Bay he must have seen *balsas*, as they were the only watercraft that the Indians in those parts possessed.

In 1889 appeared his fourth edition of the *Coast Pilot*, a monumental work frequently called "Davidson's Bible" by the navigators on the coast. The identifications and historical matter are much the same as those in his "Early voyages of discovery and exploration," as nothing had transpired in the meantime to change his views. In this year he received the degree of doctor of science from the University of Pennsylvania, measured the Los Angeles baseline, a singularly accurate piece of work, and attended the International Geodetic Congress at Paris. For a good part of the following three years he was on duty in the Sierra Nevada, in 1893 being in charge of surveying the California boundary line between Lake Tahoe and the Colorado River. In 1894 he was president of the Geodetic conference in Washington, and June 30, 1895, retired from the Federal service. July 1, 1898, he was appointed professor of geography in the University of California, a position he held until June 30, 1905, when he became professor emeritus. In 1910 the University made him a doctor of laws. Much of the information which he had obtained in his years of service on the coast was disseminated from time to time during these later years in papers written for the Geographical Society of the Pacific. He lost his sight towards the end of his life, but an operation partially restored it to him in 1910. In the following year, December 2, he passed away, leaving two children, Ellinor and Thomas D., and a host of friends and admirers to mourn his loss. His wife had died in 1908.

I have but briefly mentioned some of the many of Dr. Davidson's activities during his long and prodigiously active life. He wrote any number of papers on strictly astronomical subjects, others on geodetic work and instruments of precision, and not the least on a large number of miscellaneous matters collateral

to his principal pursuits. Indeed, there were few things which did not interest him, and in discussing them he usually displayed good judgment and a keen discrimination. He wrote well and easily and even succeeded in making his geographical articles interesting. One of the most outstanding memorials to his services to science and to his state is the Lick Observatory. In 1872 Davidson was engaged in locating the 120th meridian and became so enthusiastic over the results obtained in astronomical observations at high altitudes that he aroused in James Lick a similar enthusiasm. As a result, in the following year Lick set up his foundation for a high-class observatory. Much to Davidson's disappointment this was not erected in the high Sierra but at Mount Hamilton, the present site. Another of his outstanding services and one now little known was his discovery in 1857 that the seals on the asserted grant of land to Limantour which purported to cover part of San Francisco were forged.

His reputation today largely rests on his *Coast Pilots* and his identification of Drake's Bay as the place where Sir Francis Drake refitted his ship. This became a kind of an obsession with him, and it is unfortunate that he took such a decided stand in what must always be a very controversial matter. He was successful in convincing many people, among others, Bishop Nichols and George W. Childs of Philadelphia. The latter erected a cross in Golden Gate Park in 1893 to commemorate, as Davidson asserted in an inscription on the cross, "the service held on the shore of Drake's Bay about St. John Baptist's day, June 24, Anno Domini 1579 by Francis Fletcher, Priest of the Church of England, Chaplain of Sir Francis Drake and Chronicler of the service." Leaving aside for the moment the accuracy of the first part of the statement we may now confidently affirm that Fletcher was not a priest of the Church of England. The record of the services held on the *Golden Hinde* and transmitted to us by Drake's Spanish captives furnish adequate proof that they were Puritan services, and not those of the Church of England. We also have other evidence that Fletcher was a Puritan preacher, in fact, the whole enterprise was at bottom a Puritan enterprise.

I do not agree with Davidson that Drake spent any time in Drake's Bay, principally because when the Spaniards were there for six weeks, only sixteen years later, they found no traces whatever of civilized man. With such a large party of men as Drake had, so careless as sailors are, and so generous as Drake was with the implements of one kind and another for which he had then no further use, we may be sure that every Indian within a radius of twenty miles would have had some kind of a relic of Drake, either given to him or stolen by him. Indeed Cermeño's failure to find anything of the kind points very strongly to the fact that Drake did not stay anywhere near the place, as in sixteen years something should have traveled some distance. All the collateral evidence that Dr. Davidson was able to gather to support his position furnishes just as valid, and in some cases more convincing, arguments in favor of some other bay. Nor do I agree with many of his identifications of the landfalls of Cabrillo. In his *Directory* for 1858, Davidson generally made what I regard as the correct indentifications of this expedition. Later he changed them, largely, I am con-

vinced, because of his desire to magnify the importance of Drake's Bay. As late as 1869, he considered that the Bahia de los Pinos of Cabrillo was Monterey Bay, and the Cabo de Pinos, Pt. Reyes, just as in my opinion they were. In 1886 he moved the Bahia to Drake's Bay and the Cabo to what he called Northwest Cape, that is Ross Mountain, just above Fort Ross. My own opinions on the subject have been expressed so fully in my *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of North America* that I do not wish to repeat them here. The mere fact that he may have been mistaken in some of his historical deductions drawn from inconclusive sources can in no wise detract from the practical results which he achieved in the interests of science and to the benefit of his adopted state. In many respects he was the most remarkable man that has ever lived in California, and all of us who live in California and enjoy the fruits of his labor should honor his memory.

Davidson's writings in the early period were practically confined to the Reports of the Coast Survey. These Reports were issued as both Senate and House Executive Documents, and in each year a certain number was set apart for the use of the Survey. The contents, pagination, maps, etc., in each case are identical, being in fact but a single printing by the Government. The references are therefore simply to the Report of the year in question. Davidson's pet was the California Academy of Sciences; he faithfully attended the meetings when at home and contributed remarks to most of the subjects discussed. These are scattered through the *Proceedings*, sometimes a few lines, scarcely ever more than one or two pages. I take it that these entries are simply notes taken down by the secretary. Many embody interesting and valuable details but not being formal works of his, are not entered in the following list. I have endeavored to locate all his contributions on geographical subjects to the newspapers and magazines, but have only his own list to go by, as the files of none of the San Francisco newspapers have been fully examined and indexed except the earlier years of the *Alta California* by the State Library. When he was appointed professor of geography in 1898, a bibliography of his writings to that date was published in the Biennial Report of the president of the University. This I conclude was furnished by himself. He went to the trouble of preparing what might be called an account of his services down to 1898, entitled "Brief Memoranda of the Public Services of George Davidson in Geodesy, Astronomy, etc.," now preserved in the University of California Library.

After his death short obituary notices were published by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Call*, on December 3; and by his friend Ruliff S. Holway of the University in the University *Chronicle* for January, 1912; in the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society of January, 1912; and in *Science*, February 16, 1912. In 1914 a sketch appeared in the *Proceedings* of the California Academy of Sciences, but for some curious reason it contains no facts later than 1895. While in the hey-day of his career two other sketches of him appeared, one in the *Mining and Scientific Press*, August 1885, written by Charles G. Yale, and another, anonymously May 9, 1890. The *Dictionary of American Biography*,

now in process of publication, contains a very appreciative account of him. The American Society of Civil Engineers has just published another, prepared by Fremont Morse of Berkeley, California. Others have appeared from time to time in various magazines, collections of biographies and miscellaneous works.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

DAVIDSON'S GEOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

Extracts from the report of Assistant George Davidson to the superintendent in relation to the work executed by a party under his charge during the past year on the coast of California and Oregon, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year ending November, 1852,* App. 17, 11 pp. plus 1 page of observations by the Astoria party from October, 1851, to October 1, 1852, dated Astoria, Columbia River, October 3, 1852.

Letter from . . . relative to the wrecking on the bar of Tomales Bay, California, of the vessel carrying instruments and camp equipage in charge of sub-assistant James S. Lawson, dated San Francisco, Dec. 15, 1853, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year ending November, 1854,* App. 60.

Statement of the commerce of Humboldt Bay, California . . . July 1, 1853 to May 1, 1854, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year ending November, 1854,* App. 28.

Letter of . . . dated Humboldt Bay or Obo, May 28, 1854, giving an account of the solar eclipse of May 26, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year ending November, 1854,* App. 40.

Article on the progress of the U. S. Coast Survey, noticed in an issue of the *Alta* of Nov. 21, 1855, *Putnam's Magazine.* (Not seen.)

Table of the geographical positions of forty astronomical stations on the Pacific Coast of the United States, 1850-1855, *Alta California,* May, 1855. (And separately.)

A search of the files of the Alta for May 1855, failed to disclose this Table, nor has any separate issue of it been seen by me. The Tables of Geographical Positions published in the Coast Survey Report of 1855 are obviously different from this, as many of them were in the interior and the number was much greater.

Tide Tables for San Francisco through kindness of George Davidson, *Alta California,* Nov. 18, 1855. Table II—results of the discussion by Bache of W. P. Trowbridge's measurements, 2-3; Nov. 21, Table III, 2-2; Nov. 22, Table IV, 2-4.

Extracts from a descriptive report made to the superintendent by Assistant George Davidson, upon localities on the western coast of the United States from the north entrance to the Rosario Strait, W. T., to the southern boundary of California, *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1855,* Washington: 1856, App. 26, pp. 176-185, and App. 76, pp. 409-10.

Extract from a report made to the superintendent by Assistant George Davidson communicating the discovery of a bank near the northern entrance to Colvos Passage, Admiralty Inlet, W. T., *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1857,* Washington: 1858, App. 19, dated San Francisco, Nov. 1, 1857.

Directory for the Pacific Coast of the United States, *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1858,* Washington: 1859, App. 44, pp. 297-458.

Directory for the Pacific Coast of the United States by George Davidson, Washington: 1858. Large 4°. 166 (1) pp. with a paper wrapper containing the foregoing title and caption title. The unnumbered page contains five lines of errata. (Separately from the preceding.)

Directory for the Pacific Coast of the United States, reported to the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, *Report of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1862,* Washington: 1864, App. 39, pp. 268-430.

Directory for the Pacific Coast of the United States [as above] by George Davidson, assistant, Washington: 1862. Large 4° IV, 171 pp. in paper wrappers with the same title. [III]-IV contain the errata. (Separately from the preceding.)

Report of Assistant George Davidson relative to the resources and the coast features of Alaska territory, *Report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey showing the progress of the Survey during the year 1867*, Washington: 1869, App. 18, pp. 187-329. Pp. 226-264 contain a Directory of the Coast of Alaska and from that on the article consists of four appendices by Davidson and one by Theodore A. Blake.

Among the maps in the volume is a general one of Alaska by H. Lindenkohl and three by Davidson's party described in the preceding text.

Also published in *H. of R. Ex. Doc. No. 177*, 40th Congress, second session, February 19, 1868, pp. 219-360.

Davidson also read an account of this voyage before the Calif. Acad. of Sciences Nov. 27, 1867.

Resources of Alaska, *Lippincott Magazine*, November 1868, 19 pp. (Not seen.)

Compilation and drawing of three charts of the Coast of Washington, British Columbia, Alaska, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for the year 1868*. (Not found.)

The three charts were issued in the Report for 1868:
Northwest Coast No. 1—Cape Flattery to Dixon Entrance;
Northwest Coast No. 2—Dixon Entrance to Cape St. Elias;
Northwest Coast No. 3—Icy Bay to Seven Islands.

Sailing directions for the west coast of North America between Panama and Queen Charlotte Islands. By James F. Imray—second edition, London, 1868. 8^0, XI (1), 380 pp. 11 plates and maps.

Davidson states in the Note to the Introduction to the 4th edition of the *Coast Pilot of California* that this contains a bodily reprint without proper credit of the 2d edition of his *Directory*. His complaint was entirely justified. Imray, however, most disingenuously tried to hide the plagiarism by quoting here and there directly from Davidson and this after having taken two or three solid pages out of the *Directory* without any quotation marks whatever or any reference to Davidson. Among the preliminaries is a list of authorities, among which we find "Reports of the U. S. Coast Survey presented to Congress in 1864; particularly the volume for 1862, from which the instructions to the coast of California are chiefly taken." Possibly Imray thought that this was sufficient acknowledgment of his obligations to Davidson. It is true that some other works were also used, but in the main between the southern boundary of California and the Gulf of Georgia this work is taken from the *Directory*. The volume contains small charts of San Diego, Monterey and Bodega bays and a large one of San Francisco Bay taken from the Survey Reports.

Pacific Coast. Coast Pilot of Alaska. (First Part), from southern boundary to Cook Inlet, 1869, Washington: 1869, 8^0, 251 pp., 8 plates.

Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington territory, 1869, Washington, 1869, 8^0, 262 pp., 33 plates.

Remarks on the bars and entrances to the rivers and bays, *Proc. Calif. Acad. of Sciences*, Vol. IV, 149-50, read Dec. 19, 1870.

Short but interesting remarks about the channels tending northward in the face of the northwest winds. He attributed this to the inshore eddy which, running about 2 miles per hour and 2 miles wide, rolled the sand northward making the long spits.

Comparison of the methods of determining heights by means of leveling vertical angles and barometric measures from observations at Bodega Head and Ross Mountain, California, by George Davidson and Charles Schott, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for 1871*, App. 11, 16 pp. (Reprinted as App. 16 to the *Report* of 1876.)

Abrasions on the northwest coast of America and the supposed ancient sea levels, read May 5, 1873, *Proc. Calif. Acad. of Sciences* 1873, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 90-97 and 2 plates. (Separately in 8^0, 8 pp. and 5 illustrations.)

Probable periodicity of rainfall, *Proc. Calif. Acad, of Sciences*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 22-24 and a chart.

Dangers to navigation in the approaches to San Francisco Harbor, *Daily Alta*, Dec. 10, 1873. (Directed to the Chamber of Commerce, Dec. 9.)

Results of observations for determining positions occupied in Lower California and at Philadelphia, *Report of the Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey for 1874*, App. 10, 3 pp.

Davidson did the work at San José Del Cabo, March 11, 1873.

The recovery of the French transit of Venus station of 1769 at this time was also described by Davidson in the *Proc. Calif. Acad. of Sciences*, Vol. V, Part I, pp. 65-67.

Abrasions on the northwest coast of America, *Overland Monthly*, January, 1874, pp. 35-40. This contains some references to his trip along the Mexican Coast.

(Also in *Int. Acad. of Sciences* with additions, 1878, 8 pp., and another read before Nat'l Acad. of Sciences at Washington, April, 1878, 7 pp.)

Pacific Coast and Geodetic Surveys, *Californian*, January, 1880, pp. 60-65. (Also separately, 8^0, 8 pp.)

An interesting statement of the methods employed by the Survey, especially in triangulation.

Letter of Assistant George Davidson U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, contained in a letter from the Secretary of War of May 24, 1880, 46th Cong., second session, *Sen. Ex. Doc. 188,* Part III, pp. 3-12.

This interesting letter dated Martinez East, April 20, 1880, relates to the question then under consideration regarding the building of a breakwater and a harbor of refuge on the Pacific Coast. The board of engineers of the Pacific Coast held a public session and some interesting testimony was elicited. Majority and minority reports were printed in the document cited above. The majority selected Port Orford but the minority, consisting of R. S. Williamson, disagreed in favor of Trinidad. Davidson was not in favor of building any breakwater. He said he had been in Port Orford for three months in the winter of 1851 and 1852 and could not recommend it. He put in a good word for Drake's Bay but said it was too far south. He therefore favored Trinidad Bay but thought the roadstead at Cape Gregory was about as good.

Harbor of Refuge on the Pacific Coast of the U. S., *Morning Call,* May 20, 1880, *Evening Bulletin,* May 27, 1880, and *S. F. Journal of Commerce,* May, ——, 1880. (Not seen.)

Abrasions on the North-West Coast, *Californian,* Vol. II (Aug. 1880), 165-171.

Memorial to Congress to continue and complete the survey of Alaska, *Daily Alta California,* December 30, 1881, and *S. F. Chronicle,* December 30, 1881. (Not seen.)

Pacific Coast Pilot, Alaska, Part I, Washington: 1883, 8^0, VIII (2) 338 pp. and 28 maps, charts and views.

This was largely the work of W. H. Dall assisted by Marcus Baker but embodies much of the information contained in Davidson's work of 1869. According to the list of publications of the Survey this should contain 342 pp. and 53 illustrations, but no doubt in counting the illustrations both on some of the plates were counted. I think there must be an error about the 342 pp.

The shoaling of the bar at the entrance to San Francisco Harbor, *Proc. of the Geog. Soc. of the Pac.,* Series I, Vol. I, Part IV, 1-13, read at the meeting of May 20, 1884. (Also perhaps separately with a cover title.)

The reported shoaling of the bar at the entrance to San Francisco Bay. Correspondence between the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco and the Geographical Society of the Pacific, 8^0, 4 pp. (Also apparently published in the *Mining and Scientific Press,* 1884.)

Collection of magnetic variations off the coast of California and Mexico observed by Spanish navigators in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. *Report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for the year 1885,* Washington, 1886, App. 7, pp. 275-84. (Also separately in 300 copies.)

An examination of some of the early voyages of discovery and exploration on the Northwest coast of America from 1539 to 1603, *Report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, showing the progress of the work during the fiscal year ending with June, 1886,* Washington: 1887, App. 7, pp. 155-253.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, F. M. Thorne, Superintendent. Methods and Results —Voyages of discovery and exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603, Appendix No. 7—Report for 1886, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887, title and pp. [155]-253 and 1 map prepared by Davidson.

A few copies were also issued on large paper and bound in flexible leather, with a sheet of Additions and Corrections.

The temperature of the water of the Golden Gate. Daily observations for ten years 1874-83 (curves and tables), *Bull. Calif. Acad. of Sciences,* Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 354-57.

Submarine valleys on the Pacific Coast of the U. S., *Bull. 6 Calif. Acad. of Sciences,* Vol. II, 265-68. (Separately as No. 1 of *Extract from Bulletin 6, California Acad. of Sciences* without change of pagination.)

Early Spanish voyages of discovery on the coast of California, read before California Academy of Sciences October 18, 1886, *Bull. 6, Calif. Acad. of Sciences,* 325-335. (Separately without change of pagination as an "Extract from Bulletin 6, Calif. Acad. of Sciences" as No. 3. No. 2 is Standard Geodetic Data.)

This is largely a list of geographic names of places noted by the Cabrillo expedition, Ulloa, Drake and Vizcaino, extracted from his *Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of North America from 1539 to 1603,* which he says was too long for the Academy to publish and which he presented to the superintendent of the Survey for publication, and which, he adds, had occupied most of his unofficial time for the past two years.

Mount St. Elias, *Papers read before the Geog. Soc. of the Pacific, Oct. 10, 1881-June, 1891,* page XIV, 1887, Feb. 15.

Resources and development in Alaska, *Bull. 4, Vol. I* of the *U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey,* pp. 13-24.

Pacific Coast. Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington, 4th edition. (Entirely rewritten.) Washington: 1889, 8^0, 10, II, 11-721 pp., map, 2 tables anl 158 cuts (list of Coast Survey publications says it contains 457 illustrations.)

This monumental work was the last of this character prepared by Davidson and the last to contain information of an historical and descriptive nature. The descriptive information is much more extensive than in earlier volumes but the historical matter is much the same as that previously published in the series, especially that contained in the 3d edition. In 1903 O. H. Tittman, superintendent of the Survey, issued an *United States Coast Pilot, Pacific Coast. California, Oregon and Washington.* This work initiates an entirely new series of Coast Pilots marked by the elimination of almost all Davidson's historical information and even of degrees of latitude and longitude for places on the coast. A 2d edition was issued in 1909 and a 3d in 1917. Since then only Supplements have been issued

Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the year 1579. By Prof. George Davidson, Ph.D., Sc.D., United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, *California Historical Society Publication*. 8⁰, 58 pp. and 15 charts.

Maps:

No. 1, Coast of New Albion along which Drake sailed
2, Landfall of Point Reyes Head
3, Drake's Bay, from the charts of Vancouver, Tebenkoff, and the U. S. Coast Survey of 1850
4, Drake's Bay reduced from the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
5, The eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head
6, MS chart in the Royal Library at Munich
7, MS charts No. 83-83 Royal Library at Munich
8, Copy of part of the Map of Hondius, 1595
9, Port of New Albion, Drake, 1579
10, Part of the chart of Vizcaino, 1602-3
11, Part of the Hondius map of the world, 1618-1627
12, Sub-map of the Carta Prima Generale from the Arcano del Mare
13, From the Arcano del Mare of 1647
14, Old Spanish chart with sub-chart embracing Constanzó's Estero de San Francisco, (from Dalrymple).
15, Chart of California by Miguel Costansó, 1770. (From the printed map.)

According to a MS note in my copy by Davidson the paper was read before the Society March 12, 1889 and put to press April 21, 1890. It was also read before the Geographical Society, March 28.

The Discovery of Humboldt Bay, California. Prof. George Davidson, Ph.D., Sc.D. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, President Geographical Society of the Pacific, etc. etc., *Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Vol. II, pp. 1-16 and 5 maps, (read March 4, 1890).

The Discovery of Humboldt Bay, California. Prof. George Davidson, Ph.D., Sc.D. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, President Geographical Society of the Pacific, etc. etc. Geographical Society of the Pacific Publication, San Francisco, California, 1891. Put to Press, April 20, 1891, 8⁰, 16 pp. and 5 maps.

The discovery of Humboldt Bay from the Coast Pilot of California, 1889
The discovery of Humboldt Bay reduced from the charts of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1851-54
The discovery of Humboldt Bay—Tebenkof's chart from Winship's discoveries, 1806.
The discovery of Humboldt Bay—the coastline from Vizcaino's exploration, January, 1603
The discovery of Humboldt Bay from Dudley's coastline of Drake's reconnaissance, June, 1579

This article was read before the California Historical Society, March 10, 1891.

The Discovery of San Diego Bay, *Proceedings, Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Vol. III, 1892, pp. 37-47, dated Sept. 7, 1892.

Early voyages on the northwestern coast of America, *National Geographic Magazine,* Vol. V, 1894, pp. 235-256. (Separately without change of pagination.) Apparently read at the geographic conference, Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

An interesting article on the errors in observations and distances, especially of Cabrillo. He calculated the average increase of error from certain intermediate locations. On p. 241 he speaks of proportioning Cabrillo's erroneous estimate of distance between San Buenaventura and Pt. Conception, but does not explain how he knew there was an error, but no doubt having adopted the Pueblo de las Canoas as at Ventura he made the errors fit his calculation. Thus, he was able, he said, to fix every anchorage on the channel. Thus Sardinas was at the mouth of Gaviota Creek. Cabo de Nieve was the western spur of the San Francisco mountains, rising behind Pt. Año Nuevo. He was thoroughly convinced of it. On p. 245 he notes the name San Sebastian but does not attempt to identify it more than that the Puerto de San Sebastian was on Santa Rosa Island. He notes that Cabrillo made no mention of the Farallones although according to Davidson's theory he was anchored near them, but the depth of 45 fathoms bothered him, and he had to go outside of them to find it.

Address at the ceremonies of accepting the Prayer-Book Cross, *S. F. Chronicle,* Jan. 2, 1894, 8-3.

The address begins as follows: "I am here to establish the location of Francis Drake's second anchorage on the Pacific Coast of the United States; the date therefor, the length of his stay, and whether any special services and ceremonies were performed." Farther on: "Today there remains not the shadow of a doubt in my mind of the exact locality where his foot first trod the soil of California." Elsewhere he admits,

however, that he had gone through moments of doubt and uncertainty. Characteristic of Davidson's reasoning is the following when speaking of Pt. Reyes "Now he saw a bold projection that must give him a good lea, for far to the eastward were the wooded flanks of Mount Tamalpais, indicating a deep recession of the coast in that direction." As Drake's vessel was then supposed by Davidson to be off the Russian River, query: How could Drake know that Pt. Reyes was a projection and that it did not mark a change in the direction of the coast? Davidson knew it and therefore he assumed that Drake also did. He speaks about being the first to photograph the Munich map which he says also shows Mount Tamalpais. He made a mistake about Cermeño who he thought had made Drake's Bay a port of call and thought it natural that the Spaniards at that time should have destroyed every vestige of the landing of Drake, and especially of his having taken possession of the country. He then calls on Indian legends to prove that Drake was in the bay.

Early Spanish navigators, *Illustrated Pacific States,* Oct. 1894. 6 columns and 1 illustration. (Not seen.)

On the variation of latitude of San Francisco, California, from 6768 observations made in coöperation with the International Geodetic Association 1891-92, *Report of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1893,* App. 11, pp. 111-120.

A more extended account than in the following.

(Separately in 1894 from the preceding)—Geodesy—On the variation of latitude of San Francisco, California, etc.

These observations were made at his private observatory in Lafayette Park, San Francisco, which he had erected in 1879.

Variation of latitude at San Francisco, 1891-1892 according to observations of Professor George Davidson, The Nichols Press, Lynn, Mass., 4^0, 3 pages, dated Washington June 29, 1894.

The San Francisco Committee of Commerce. Report of the Sub-Committee on unspecified matters. [On the removal of dangerous rocks in the harbor of San Francisco and the approaches thereto.] 8^0, 16 pp., dated Jan. 9, 1896, and signed by Davidson as chairman.

An interesting pamphlet with a list of disasters.

The submerged valleys on the coast of California, U. S. A. and of Lower California, Mexico, *Proc. Cal. Acad. Sci.,* Series III, Vol. I, No. II, pp. [71]-103, with 9 plates (numbered IV-XII), issued June 26, 1897. (Read 1896.)

Alaska, *Overland Monthly,* Nov., 1897, pp. 429-39 with six illustrations by J. H. Turner and one by William Ogilvie.

A popular sketch giving his opinion about the dispute over the boundary which had arisen since gold had been discovered in the country. The proof-sheets of this were sent to Senator Morgan and extracts inserted in the *Cong. Record* of March 4, 1898.

Physical features and resources of Alaska, *Cong. Record,* March 4, 1898, pp. 2473-2477.

A letter of Davidson's dated Dec. 16, 1897 to Senator Morgan, stating that he is sending a memorandum of the headlines of his lecture [with the above title]. He states that Dec. 10 he delivered his sixth lecture on the subject to the Society of California Pioneers. The memorandum is attached to the letter. He also states that he is sending proof-sheets of his article "Alaska" in the *Overland.*

The names of the largest geographical features of North America, *Bulletin Geog. Soc. of Philadelphia,* Nov. 1899. Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 63-64.

This is simply a letter from Davidson regarding the subject, appended to the article of which the author was Israel C. Russell.

Two eruptions of Mount Baker, *Northwest Farm and Home,* Seattle, Dec. 6, 1900. (Not seen.)

The Lynn Canal and the Taiyá Inlet—A chapter in the physical geography of Southeastern Alaska, *Bull. of Geog. Soc. of Philalelphia,* March 1900, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 108-114.

Explanation of an Indian map of the rivers, lakes, trails and mountains from the Chilkaht to the Yukon, drawn by the Chilkaht chief, Kohklux, in 1869, *Mazama,* April, 1901, pp. 75-82. (Separately, 8^0, 8 pages and a map, with a cover title.) (Not seen.)

Memorandum by . . . U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 52d Cong., 2d Sess. *H. of R. Ex. Doc. 41,* pp. 164-66.

Interesting reminiscences of some experiences in San Pedro Bay contained in an Appendix to the report on a Deep-Water Harbor at San Pedro Bay.

Origin of the Name "Cape Nome," *Nat. Geog. Magazine,* November, 1901, Vol. XII, No. 11, p. 398.

The Tracks and landfalls of Bering and Chirikof on the Northwest Coast of America from the point of their separation in latitude 49° 10′, longitude 176° 40′ West, to their return to the same meridian, June, July, August, September, October, 1741, George Davidson, President of the Geographical Society of the Pacific. (Private publication.) Put in print

October 31, 1901, 8⁰, 44 pp. and map, paper wrappers with the same title and on the verso—Press of John Partridge . . . S. F.

Map:

Tracks and landfalls of Bering and Chirikof on the Northwest Coast of America, dated 1897-98: 1900.

In Davidson's own list this calls for a portrait, but I have not seen a copy with one. The paper was first read in part before the Society in June, 1898.

The Tracks and landfalls of Bering and Chirikof on the Northwest Coast of America from the point of their separation in latitude 49° 10′, longitude 176° 40′ West, to their return to the same meridian, June, July, August, September, October, 1741. *Proceedings Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. I, 1902, pp. 1-44 and map.

The Copper River of Alaska, *Proceedings Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. I, 1902, pp. 45-50.

I think this is occasionally found in a separate attached to the Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikof.

Cape Nome—origin of the name, *Trans. and Proceedings of the Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. I, 1902, pp. 50-58. (A letter from Davidson is printed on page 53.) *Geographical Journal,* London, and *Bull. American Geog. Soc.,* N. Y., according to Davidson.

The currents and climatology of the North Pacific, San Francisco, *Commercial News and Shipping Lists,* June 5, 1902. (Not seen.)

The Alaska Boundary George Davidson President of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, etc. etc. Published by Alaska Packers Association, San Francisco, 1903, 8⁰, 235 pp., 2 maps and a portrait of Davidson. On verso of title, Press of the Bosqui Engraving & Printing Co., San Francisco and a cut of the Alaska Packers Assoc. house flag on heavy paper at the beginning.

Maps:

The southern part of Portland Canal, Alaska, from Chart No. 8100 of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey 1891-99.

Northwest Coast of Alaska, Dixon Entrance to Cape St. Elias. (A facsimile of Chart 8000 of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey of March, 1900.

The Glaciers of Alaska that are shown on Russian charts or mentioned in older narratives, *Proceedings Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. III, 1904, pp. 1-98 and 11 charts. [Read by title before the Council and ordered printed May 7, 1904.]

The Glaciers of Alaska that are shown on Russian charts or mentioned in older narratives. By George Davidson, A.M., Ph.D., Sc.D., President of the Geographical Society of the Pacific; Honorary Professor of Geodesy and Astronomy and Professor of Geography in the University of California, etc. etc. with eleven charts. Extracted from the Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific; Vol. III, Series II, June 1904. San Francisco, Cal. Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch, 319-323 Sansome Street, 8⁰, 98 pp., with eleven charts.

Charts:

Chart of the east coast of the Peninsula of Alaska from a reconnaissance of Mr. Wassilieff 1831-32

Chart of the Kadiak Islands and part of the Peninsula of Alaska, Tebénkof, 1849

Chart of Shelikof Strait and Cooks Inlet, Alaska, to show the general locality of glaciers reported in 1869

Chart from Cooks Inlet to Prince William Sound, Alaska, the glaciers of Tebénkof's charts . . . 1849

Prince William Sound

From Lituya Bay to Icy Strait

Disenchantment Bay, Alaska, with an inset of the Puerto del Desengaño from Malaspina

Icy Strait to Cross Sound

Frederick Sound, from Tebénkof's chart, 1849.

Frederick Sound from Chart 8050, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1902

Northeast and northwest parts of Prince William Sound to show the glaciers located by Captain Applegate in 1887. (2)

Currents of the North Pacific and their Dangers, *Commercial News,* San Francisco, Sept. 5, 1906. (Not seen.)

Northwest Currents—the inshore eddy current along the Northwest Coast of America, *Daily Commercial News,* January 27, 1906. (Separately, 8⁰, 3 pages.) (Not seen.)

The Discovery of San Francisco Bay, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. IV, 1907, pp. IV, 1-153 (1).

The Discovery of San Francisco Bay. The Rediscovery of the Port of Monterey; the establishment of the Presidio, and the founding of the Mission of San Francisco. George Davidson, Ph.D., Sc.D., President of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, etc. etc. Extracted from the Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, Vol: IV, Series II, May, 1907, San Francisco, Cal., 1907, 8^0, IV, 153 pp. with a sheet of errata inserted after the title. Printed paper wrappers with the same title. On verso of 153—F. F. Partridge Print. San Francisco, Cal.

In a note of conclusion on p. 140 Davidson states that the body of this work was completed in July, 1904.

The name "Mt. Rainier," *Sierra Club Bulletin* No. 35, January, 1907, pp. [87]-99, signed George Davidson and dated February 20, 1906. (Separately with the same pagination and a title-page prefixed with the following printed in a small square near the top—The Name "Mt. Rainier" by George Davidson Reprinted from *Sierra Club Bulletin*, No. 35, January, 1907.)

Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America The Golden Hinde did not enter the Bay of San Francisco, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. V, 1908, printed by authority of the Council, IV, 1-114 pp.

Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the year 1579 The Golden Hinde did not anchor in the Bay of San Francisco George Davidson President Geographical Society of the Pacific. Read by title February 29, 1908, Transactions and Proceedings of the Geog. Soc. of the Pacific, Vol. V, Series II, 1908, 8^0, IV, 114 (1) pp. with a wrapper title somewhat different. (Separately from the preceding.) On the page following 114—F. F. Partridge Print. 136 Leidesdorff Street, San Francisco.

Page [109] contains a copy of a letter from Justin Winsor and [111]-114 a bibliography, the only one I have seen in any of Davidson's writings.

The Origin and the Meaning of the name California, *Transactions and Proceedings Geog. Soc. of the Pacific,* Series II, Vol. VI, Part I, 1910, pp. [4], 1-50.

The Origin and the Meaning of the Name California—Calafia the Queen of the Island of California Title Page of Las Sergas—George Davidson, Ph.D., Sc.D., LL.D., President Geographical Society of the Pacific. Transactions and Proceedings Geog. Soc. of the Pacific, Vol. VI, Part I; Series II, 1910, 8^0, (4) 50 pp. and a fac. of the title-page of the *Sergas* of Esplandian. Printed wrappers with almost the identical title, the only changes being the elimination of "Vol. VI, Part I; Series II," and a change of the "Transactions etc." to "extracted from the Transactions and Proceedings of the Society and ordered to be printed by the Council." At the bottom of p. 50—F. F. Partridge Print. 136 Leidesdorff St., San Francisco. At the end it is dated May 9, 1910.

A TRIP TO THE MINING REGIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1859

"Californischer Staats-Kalender" in Leap Year A.D. 1860

By Eduard Vischer
Translated from the German by Ruth Frey Axe

PART TWO

From Sacramento via Jackson to Mokelumne Hill and Angel's.—Excursion via Murphy's to the giant trees of Calaveras and afterwards from Murphy's via Vallecito to Sonora.—Columbia and the mining enterprises of the region. Return from Sonora to San Francisco via Stockton.

For the second time using Sacramento City as our point of departure, we started our trip to the southern mining region on Wednesday, May 25, at 6 o'clock in the morning. The Folsom railroad is crossed about five miles outside the city usually just at the time the train makes its appearance. This time we were a quarter of an hour early but had the satisfaction of seeing the steaming monster rush by like a snorting thoroughbred stallion, with its string of cars hung on behind, appearing on hill-tops and disappearing behind groves of trees. Although the sight of railroad trains has become commonplace both for the American of the Atlantic seaboard and for the European, there is still something significant for the Californian in such an express train. It greets him as the isolated herald of a new era which will come to this country, still in its infancy, with the opening of the great overland railroad. The sight reminded me of my first impression of a railroad train, received in 1846 (in Troy, near Albany), when, on returning from China after an absence from Europe of seventeen years, I first actually saw the much praised mechanical miracle.

This morning we wished for wings of steam to fly as soon as possible from the monotonous, almost treeless prairies of the Sacramento plains. A violent wind-storm drove before it a house-high cloud of dust, and with an eclipse-like darkness protected us from the other extreme; that is, the scorching heat of this plain. Nevertheless this variation was welcome to me as one of my traveling companions had complained of the tiresome constancy of the spring atmosphere, the aroma of the mountain vegetation and the monotony of California scenery. "Park-like hill country everywhere!" "Too much of a good thing!" is the usual cry of newcomers to California, or of those who, having been imprisoned for years in San Francisco, finally get up enough energy to visit the interior.

After we had passed several houses, so modest they could hardly be called farms as they owe their existence merely to a change of relays for the stages, we found compensation for the previous monotony in crossing the Cosumnes (here called generally Macosme) and in a very cheerful settlement (Hartnell, originally Hartnell's Ranch) which lies like a green oasis in the middle of the

sandy desert. It is a lonely oasis, however, which immediately makes way again for the former monotony. After another prairie trip of from ten to twelve miles we entered the first range of hills and soon thereafter reached the noon stage station; the so-called Q Ranch, where, after we had rid ourselves of most of the dust and again looked like human beings, we were refreshed by a fairly good noon meal.

Q Ranch owes its name to a contest between three successful partners who were so busy operating their lovely farm that for years they could not find time to name it, until at last they fell back on the alphabet for a name. It is the most important farm in Ione Valley which is known far and wide for its fruitfulness. There is a neat little town in the valley also called Ione. Of all the regions I know this seems to be the model of California harvest abundance; to be sure only in a small way as the area of this gently undulating ground hardly exceeds 2000 acres. It is bordered by oak groves and as compensation seems to have been placed in the driest sandy plain. The grain harvests here reach the highest known norm almost without fluctuation and a small orchard, of one and one-half to two acres, is said to have produced $8000 worth of fruit last year.

The surrounding hills, sparsely covered with pines, differ in no way from those previously crossed. The barren marl ground which is compensated for by its gold content shows at first glance evidence of hydraulic work where formerly only unproductive surface work was in operation.

Jackson, known for its always productive dry-diggings and its quartz veins which have been producing richly year after year, is the most important mining place this side of Mokelumne. Here we changed our horses. Our companions, probably made more receptive by the recent desert, were visibly touched by the cheerful character of the region. From the heights where Jackson first becomes visible Mokelumne can also be seen about five or six miles distant on the hill of the same name. Between the two places is Jackson Butte, a cone of volcanic appearance. Buried in a ravine at its foot lies the small town of Butte City. The road on both sides of the narrow pass is extremely well built. It follows every turn of the gorge, falls and rises evenly, and is more than wide enough for two vehicles to pass. Cuts and fills have so well leveled it that the stage can pass at full trot the cliff of Jackson Creek where eight years ago I had to dismount and laboriously lead my horse up the path between manzanita bushes and prospect holes.

Before climbing Mokelumne Hill the river of the same name must be crossed. In late fall a great part of the mining population of the vicinity gathers here to work the river bed. Pumping plants of every type are used to dry up places previously dammed. In spring, however, and until the snow melts completely, there is too much water to permit of any gold extraction.

After climbing the long slope of the farther bank, which extends over six miles, we entered Mokelumne toward six o'clock in the evening, somewhat tired from the wind, dust and heat of the trip over prairie and mountains. We took lodging in an inn owned by an Alsatian, named Leger. It was provided with a

dance floor and was an establishment half way between a German beer hall and a French restaurant.

Mokelumne Hill, although still one of the most important places of the middle mining region, latterly does not seem to have progressed with the same stride as the other districts. Its epoch of glory was in the first years of California development when it was known as the main gathering place of the French mining population. The time (when the miners' tax was introduced) is remembered when several thousand French miners armed themselves to oppose unjust demands made on them. They occupied the neighboring hill dominating the Mokelumne until a modification of the new tax put an end to the existing differences. At that time, as has been said, the working of Mokelumne Hill was almost completely restricted to shaft workings, but their gradual exhaustion, together with the increased cost of labor, resulted in a complete change of conditions. A gradual diminishing of work was therefore entirely natural. After the completion of the new water ditches the use of water power will bring new activity into this region and, as in Nevada, the treasure in the heart of the hill will be exploited more easily, rapidly and cheaply than before.

Instead of the former almost exclusively French element the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic element has greatly increased in recent years. The attention of the visitor is drawn to the number of German signs; some announcing their owners to be disciples of Mercury, some as inn-keepers, and some as professional men. One of our traveling companions, an honest Saxon fresh from German provinces, who had a letter to a compatriot in Mokelumne Hill, disappeared from our sight soon after our arrival. The next day he told us enthusiastically of a rock cellar in the cool shaft of an exhausted mine where, to his surprise, a number of German men sang roundelays praising King Gambrinus while they drank the beer of their adopted country which brought much honor to its maker.

Mokelumne Hill is everywhere pierced with shafts. The town is one of the oldest in the mining regions (already settled by 1849!) and for a long time was said to be the richest section of all the southern mines. It lies on the south side of the river of the same name, about 1000 or 1200 feet above it. Nevertheless, from the beginning it was provided with water by a mountain reservoir. The mining is carried on in a layer of coarse-grained conglomerate deep under the surface. A hill close by consists entirely of horizontal layers, mainly of white and partially-consolidated clay and of fine volcanic sand. A part of the hill ends in a low extension of reddish sandstone which is easily worked and has even been sent to San Francisco for building purposes. Many strata vary from grayish to white and have the appearance of metamorphosed marble. Many a shaft has been sunk deep into these rocks in the search for pay dirt but without success. The gold-bearing material seems to lie under these strata and is exploited with better results by shaft or drift work.

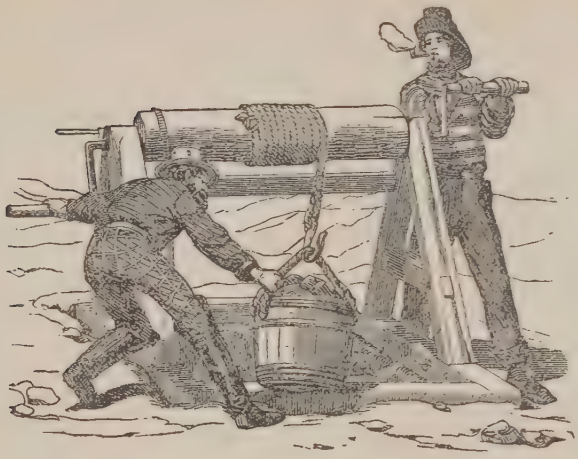
Next morning we went by stage via San Andreas to Angel's Camp where we spent the afternoon, and the next morning we continued our trip in a private vehicle.

Angel's Camp surprised me by the extraordinary increase of its quartz mining industry. The mills recently built there, although not many in number, can compete with those in Grass Valley in completeness of equipment and use of new processes.

The Crystal Quartz Mill deserves special mention because it was built so close to the shaft that it presents the finest arrangement for handling the quartz from the mine to the amalgamator. Both this and the project next to it must have required a large investment of capital. Both, even at first glance, give the impression of an extremely practical system whereby the amalgamation process and the separation from the quartz of pyrites and sulphuret is effected. This takes place in great iron drums whose rotation deposits the sulphuret. Although only quartz sand has as yet produced gold, sulphuret is supposed to contain much gold. This cannot be obtained, however, until new chemical processes are discovered. In some respects the equipment here differs from that in Grass Valley. Eccentric moving vessels, about two and a half feet in diameter, take the place of the shaking tables. A much larger vessel serves for another examination of the tailings before they are washed away. This prevents a loss, although the main recovery of gold comes from the battery itself where boxes have been placed next to the stamp trough to catch the gold.

In Angel's Camp the talc-slate is very evident, with quartz veins, more or less marked with pyrite and gold, running through it. In the neighboring slate the pyrites are also found in shining squares which make very pretty specimens for a specimen cabinet. The veins seem to adapt themselves to the outcrops and these run towards the north.

Angel's is a lively promising town which, independent of mining activity, is assured of growth and rapid development by its advantageous location (directly on the main road between the northern and southern mines and almost equidistant from Mokelumne and Sonora). Even in former times it was a pleasant resting place for me on trips to the mines as it is situated in charming country on the side of a valley in the midst of gently rising slopes which permit a long vista of distant higher mountains. Only a few miles from the southern end of town, almost at the farthest opening of the gorge, is the famous Carson Hill, called "el Cerro de Melones" by the Mexicans. In the short period of a few months the rich veins in this hill rewarded the labors of its discoverers, Mexicans and Chileans, with half a million. The rich treasure lured greedy adventurers of other nations. Title quarrels brought about an exploitation frenzy which resulted in an undermining of the supports of the mountain, so that some of the richest mines were thus caved-in. The ore obtained had to be brought about five miles down the river to the *Taonas* and it was not a rare sight when coming from Sonora to meet whole trains of loaded mules. That was in the summer of 1851 when the wealth of Carson Hill seemed inexhaustible and new shafts were constantly being opened. There were several productive dry diggings in a ravine at the foot of Carson Hill, called "Meloncitos" by the Mexicans to differentiate them from the mountain.



SHOWS THE WINDLASS AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE SHAFT

RIVER WORK

PUMPING PLANT DRIVEN BY WATER WHEELS. [Fluming Scene on Scott's River.] The water power obtained by the drop of the artificial river channel turns the paddle wheels while bucket wheels at the other end of the axle-tree scoop up the water from the ditches and depressions of the river bed.

While on a business trip in the spring of 1852, I visited this region for the second time. Curiosity led me to the mountain where only here and there a few isolated miners followed a vein which had cropped up again or "prospected" in previously abandoned diggings.

I had tied my mule to a bush, and after making the rounds was just about to mount and go my way to Sonora when some Frenchmen, leaping from one boulder to the other as lightly as deer, passed me. When one of the daredevils greeted me by name I let them talk me into going with them into their recently opened shaft where great wealth seemed about to smile on them to wipe out past disappointments. It took but a moment to be lowered into the mine, but when they started to raise me, after I had viewed the vein, the creaking of the windlass in the dilapidated scaffold warned me in a very unpleasant way that with as heavy a person as I the slightest counterweight would serve to break the long worn-out cable, for both the rope and scaffold of the abandoned mine had been exposed all winter to the action of the rain and sun. The main danger lay in an overhanging rock from which I tried to swing free but struck with double force. Receiving but a skin abrasion from this and pulling upwards I was then threatened by a still more critical place, a beam projecting just below the shaft mouth. The five minutes until I reached this seemed half an eternity to me. I thanked God as, grasped by the men at the windlass, with an effort, I reached the surface. Never did God's sun seem more beautiful to me. And rightly so, for it was a double crisis in my life. Besides my fortunate release from the shaft in those moments thousands of miles away the most important vital question of my life was being decided for me although of course I was entirely unaware of it then. Thus we three, the Frenchmen and I, stepped from the mine as winners, and the retrospective millions of Carson could not balance the treasure which I had won. Had my proxy in the marriage ceremony being performed at home* been endowed with second sight and could he have grasped my situation in the distant mine shaft he would have given but little for my life and perhaps would have shrunk back in horror at the thought that the bride standing by his side might be a widow before the signature was dry on the marriage certificate.

The Stage Hotel in Angels is praiseworthy. A droll picture hanging in the bar room depicts a quartz mill in operation. It was made either by an artistic joker or by a clever quartz miner who had a bone to pick. It is very original and although the persiflage of the quartz mania is not strictly aesthetic it never fails to make every new guest laugh.

An evening walk brought the day of our stay in Angel's to a very pleasant close and the lighting up of Bear Mountains at sunset was very picturesque. I

* In 1852 Edward Vischer was married by proxy in London to Sophia Prince-Smith, an English girl who had lived in Germany and Paris, an uncle of Vischer acting as his proxy. The ceremony took place abroad in order to enable her to travel as a married woman. Another marriage ceremony was performed by the Reverend Vehr Mehr in San Francisco after the bride's arrival. Mrs. Vischer died in 1871 and her husband on December 24, 1879. See *Edward Vischer & His "Pictorial of California,"* by Francis P. Farquhar, San Francisco [privately printed by the Grabhorn Press], 1932.

believed myself alone in the spot I had chosen to view these when suddenly I noticed two other romantically inclined creatures in close embrace on a neighboring boulder. They too were enjoying the lovely evening scene in silent delight.

Early the next morning a comfortable, special stage with six seats, drawn by fine horses, stood ready to take our group to Murphy's and the Big Trees. The trio of Cipriani, Thomälen and Vischer had had the welcome addition of our friend, the Saxon economist, and our guide soon turned out to be the Tax Collector of Calaveras County who was making an official journey through the region and in a truly democratic manner took over the office of the *Vetterino* and proved to be as able a coachman as he was a jovial and well-informed companion.

We reached Murphy's in time for a second breakfast to compensate us for our early start; and soon after, furnished with a cold lunch by a friendly host, we started on our pilgrimage to the Big Trees.

Our trip to the giant trees of Calaveras can be mentioned here only in passing. The road leads through a quite narrow gorge, then, traveling up the middle of the mountain, it falls and rises until it reaches the last peak. The forest and mountain scenes along it are among the loveliest of their kind. The Union Aqueduct can be seen here and there. Now like a lacy filigree curtain it crosses chasms above the tree tops, then runs along a ditch on the edge of the cliff, until in wild falls the clear unsullied flood rushes down the box conduit with flying spray. These vistas are pleasant and break the monotony of the interminable forests. The clearings where materials for conduits, tracks and new mills have been obtained not only show the trees to better advantage but also permit us now and then a refreshing long distance view. After traveling for about three hours the rapidly rising ground advised us that we were approaching the last peak which must be crossed to gain the alluvial surface of the actual valley of the Big Trees. Then the ice "reservoir" covered with twigs told us we would soon be there and finally the sight of the attractive Big Tree Hotel showed us we had arrived at our destination.

This group of large trees with the anecdote of their discovery and the dimensions of the most prominent of the *Washingtonia Gigantea* has been so often and well described that a description from my pen in this article and for California readers would be entirely out of place. The most recent description of them with excellent illustrations will be found in the March number of *Hutchings Magazine*. This much is certain, however; after a tour of hundreds of miles through the mining region where only a slight trace of civilization is evident near isolated towns, and everywhere else the rule is chaotic destruction, devastated forests, dried-up river beds, flooded mountains and dug-up plains, showing the irresistible power of the god Mammon, there can be no more welcome place of beneficial quiet on the traveler's path than this secluded mountain valley where the gloriously high forests would alone amply justify an excursion from Murphys.

Although they tower one-third higher than the other forests, it takes time

for the sight of the mammoth trees to impress the eyes and soul. Therein lies the main charm of remaining here so that our impressions become more vivid on every later pilgrimage through the lovely natural park. We do not know which inspires more admiration, the majesty of the growing giants or that of those hoary fallen ones which for centuries have lain deeply imbedded in the earth. Their partial concealment speaks more to our imagination and they will serve coming generations as monuments of past milleniums.

The most prominent trees and groups of trees have been very suitably marked with name plates. These are all in good taste and make orientation easier for the visitor.

The "Forest Father," the oldest fallen giant whose ruins suggest a length of 450 feet, is one of the most colossal monuments of the history of this grove. It is shaded by a later growth of from three- to four-hundred-year-old descendants. Its surface nearest the roots is covered with a tangle of blackberry vines and its hollowed-out trunk is spacious enough for a man to walk erect from one end to the other. The base of the root periphery, now vertical, to the extreme tip of the root, is thirty feet above the ground and the cracks in the bark permit the visitor to take a bath in snow water. The wood contained in the highest of the trees still standing is estimated at 750,000 feet.

One of the best-preserved groups, and my favorite one, is that of the Three Graces. Although its dimensions are smaller than many of the others, beautifully slender, it towers to the heavens with bark, trunks and branches still unmarred.

The temptation to camp in this giant grove was irresistible. I chose a spot at the foot of Old Dominion and Uncle Tom's Cabin, near half a dozen similar giants whose crowns were close together like a council of elders, and opposite the deeply imbedded Medusa head of roots of a still unnamed fallen giant whose bizarre outlines were reflected in the snow water. Although I had noted the place well by day, in the darkness without a light it was a hard piece of work to find a path through the labyrinth. My companion, chosen more perhaps for fidelity than for affection, was the good Saxon justice of the peace who confessed to me that, although he had grown gray in the administration of meadow and forest, this was the first time he had ever camped out over night. The effect must be gorgeous in moonlight or with a good campfire, but lacking both of these and on fairly damp ground we got along, to use the words of Corporal Trim's maxim, as best we could. On awakening in the morning the first rays of the sun playing in the tree tops and outlining them in the ether was original enough from our subterranean perspective to induce me to make a sketch. Following the path to Carson Valley I made another, on one of the nearby ridges, of a lovely view of the distant Sierra Nevada. We paid for this romantic excursion, however, by getting lost in the woods. On our return we had much to tell both comrades and guests. The hotel people were so courteous and made us so comfortable and our stay so pleasant, enriching it with many a spicy anecdote, that it did not seem like a hotel.

The excellently managed hotel in Murphy's, belonging to the same people, has all the advantages of this one at Big Trees in the Mammoth Group. The vestibule is built of stone and is fire-proofed by great iron folding doors which separate it from the wooden dining room and the other parts of the house. (It is the more deplorable that, in the fire which later razed Murphy's when the owner generously offered protection and half the population of the place brought their possessions here, nevertheless, because of a crack the supposedly fire-proof building burnt and with all therein was devoured by the flames. With true California spirit of enterprise Messrs. Barry and Sperry, whose loss as uninsured owners was the greatest, started to build a new hotel which rose from the ashes like a phoenix, and the great influx of summer and fall visitors to the Big Trees made up for their great expenditures.)

Murphy's, the town (formerly called Murphy's Camp), lies in a basin inclosed by mountains which were the field of important mining enterprises since the first years of gold discovery. Its inhabitants, who are mostly old settlers, have earned a good reputation for permanence. This condition has enabled the carrying out of the community enterprises and improvements which would hardly have been possible under other conditions. Among these are the aqueduct of the Union Water Company, the suspension flume connected with it, and finally the new drainage canal for the depth work of the region, made by an enormous rock blast in order to make an outlet into the neighboring ravine for the water collected in the mines. The importance of these achievements, the last two of which I have attempted to reproduce in my sketches, makes them worthy of more detailed mention. The aqueduct of the Union Water Co. runs along the gorge which leads to the giant trees, through ditches and conduits, then in box conduits or flumes, across gorges and depressions and in some places even above the tree tops. These ditches and flumes are from four to five feet wide and carry water enough to feed a middle-sized mill stream. The water comes over eighty miles from the Stanislaus springs high in the mountains. Reservoirs were made by damming-up low places until recently, when, overcoming all obstacles, Captain Hanford, one of the most practical and enterprising men of this county, completed a wooden reservoir between one and a half to two miles in area. In order to grasp the difficulties involved in such a project it suffices perhaps to mention that a special sawmill was erected about eight miles from Murphy's to supply the wood, and this, after the work had progressed somewhat, was removed fifteen miles higher into the mountains. About half way between the former spot and Murphy's, and almost parallel with the flume to the mountains, the trestle of a three-mile-long railway is discernible, which serves as a means of bringing down logs from trees felled in the mountains, and on which, using mules as a tractive force, crossing valleys and gorges, the greatest judgment was used in choosing the best grades.

Due to its purposeful planning, the aqueduct of the Union Water Co. is perhaps the only one in the mining region which has also proved to be a good investment financially speaking. The original capital was $200,000, which

was increased later to $250,000, so that by making a side canal the highest springs of the Stanislaus could also be used. This was done after several monthly dividends of 4% had been paid.

One of the finest of recent achievements is the suspension flume which has resisted the elements for two years in spite of its graceful and delicate appearance and is very easily kept in order by ingenious devices. It was built by the Central Hill Mining Company to bring water from the Union Canal across a gorge, 300 feet deep, to the mountain on the other side.

The boxes of the conduit are wooden, seven inches square and water-tight. The wire cables on which the boxes hang are parallel strands about one and a half inches in diameter, stretching 2000 feet from mountain to mountain. The central span between the two posts, 100 and 125 feet high, is 740 feet long and swings 290 feet above the bottom of the gorge. It seems to swing entirely free, as the naked eye can scarcely distinguish the vertical wire threads. This work was completed in three months by a company of ten men under the firm of Emery & Co. The expenditures were $6000, of which $4,500 was spent for materials, etc. and $1500 was the premium offered for the difficult task of suspending the boxes. Two men successfully accomplished this last in two days. I was interested in hearing the details of how they did this. One of them slid along a cable in a cage while the other fastened the wire ends to the main cable.

The people of Murphy's are looking forward to a speedy completion of the rock canal which was begun in 1857. It will remove one of the main difficulties with which this mining region has had to struggle, namely the lack of natural drainage for the water used to wash the gold-bearing strata. This collects in the deep workings and has to be pumped out by machines or windlasses, then to be drained off through the former aqueduct. The cutting through of the rock, now almost completed, has remedied this evil by opening up a level thirty feet lower so that all work at that level or above it can be carried on without interference. In order to accomplish this it was necessary to cut a canal, one mile long, through limestone. This had to be done by blasting foot after foot. This gigantic enterprise, which was undertaken under the principle of working shares, was begun in 1857 and is complete now except for a small stretch. Waters are drained through it now to the neighboring gorge, about 300 feet below the level of the suspension flume, which cuts across it at right angles. The mines which are as deep as seventy feet in some places show no sign of less gold in the strata. There is still a struggle with the water, but the difference of thirty feet makes it much easier and the richness of the pay layer is more than compensation in most cases.

It is not improbable that in the course of years this whole district will be the scene of colossal hydraulic work. At present a panoramic view shows a chaos of crushed rock masses piled up on all sides from which project the masts and levers of cranes.

From Murphy's to Columbia and Sonora

A cheerful trip which took six hours brought us via Douglas Flat and Vallecito to Sonora where we left the vehicle we had hired at Angel's. Groups of miners, resting from their week's work, showed that they celebrated Sunday in a pleasant, pious manner. In Vallecito flower-festooned doors and windows gave evidence of the coming song festival of the Germans. Roads leading to the town were becoming more and more animated as this celebration drew near. The most interesting scenic spot of this trip is the deep river valley of the Stanislaus. The river runs between almost perpendicular granite walls whose silver-gray, multi-creviced surface makes a charming contrast with the luxuriant flora, while the Ceanothus, arbutus and other flowering bushes fill the air with their fragrance. The slope of the right bank down to the ferry is abrupt and the long mountain ridge seems never ending. Suddenly, however, a bend in the road brings to view the friendly town of Gold Springs. Its clear spring and the charming country houses nearby make this place like an engaging title-page to the important Columbia mining region. Our next few days were spent in this interesting section. Here I mention our trip through Columbia and the smaller towns only to keep to the regular order of events.

The finding of the richest deposits during the infancy of California mining has become linked traditionally with Sonora. In this settlement, which at first was Mexican, gold circulated freely, and scarcely another place could surpass its lively and lucrative commerce. At the time of the introduction of the Foreign Miners' Tax, which was the signal for the departure of the Spanish population, this place became the scene of many disturbances and a type of destructive warfare was carried on until the Anglo-Saxon element obtained the upper hand. There are still more Frenchmen, Spaniards and Italians among the foreign population here than in other districts, and this city has thus preserved its southern coloring.

Because of its location in a narrow mountain valley Sonora has but one main street. At first this was very narrow, but after one of the former fires it was widened considerably and this improved the appearance of the town. The owners of the houses in this street were not guaranteed undisturbed possession of their property until after the foundations had been dug up several times and the ground was declared to be worked out. It is the county seat of Tuolumne and as such has remained the meeting place for the people of the surrounding country, although Columbia, which is much better located, has far surpassed it both in size and in progress.

Not especially pleased with the barroom management of the antediluvian Stage Hotel in Sonora where the owner attempted to supply with his town airs all comfort and courtesy that was lacking, we sought a more attractive refuge in the verandah of a neighboring French restaurant. Over a bottle of good wine at dessert we agreed that besides the invaluable institution of Wells, Fargo & Co. Express, whose agencies are found everywhere, three other establishments of the mining region deserve the gratitude of the traveler: First, the bathing estab-

lishments which are usually connected with the barber shop and are operated by Ethiopians; second, the laundries whose rapidity of service rivals the ablutions of the disrobed man and are the monopoly of the industrious, much misunderstood Chinese; and last but not least, the restaurants which strengthen and cheer the inner man, their ownership being the undying privilege of the martial sons of the French empire whose patriotism is proclaimed by the tricolor fluttering aloft in the fir trees. After coming to this conclusion we pledged it solemnly, adjourned our meeting and returned to the hotel.

The next morning we traveled towards Columbia, via Springfield and Shaws Flat. We saw many great masses of white limestone in bizarre shapes whose surfaces showed many signs of the flood and whose cement seems to be a reddish earth layer. The earth, torn up everywhere, resembles a battlefield of the antediluvian giants and monsters. Where the stone has been bared by taking away the earth covering, oblique ridges are revealed like irregular pillars or spires. Occasionally toothlike fragments are also seen with their points turned downward. The spaces between these vertical crevices of limestone are filled with dirt, clay, marl, and gravel. Almost all the gold is obtained in the deep cracks and crevices of the limestone and is usually found in the heavy blue clay stratum, below or next to this stratum, while the intervening strata contain little gold. All the scenery between Sonora and Columbia, between two mountain chains, makes the impression of a basin-like hollow which experts claim must have formed the bottom of a shallow inland sea or marshy flat. Great tusks of mastodons and mammoths, some still sticking to the jawbone, frequently have been unearthed here, but most of these were destroyed in the fire in Columbia or fell to pieces when the air touched them. The subterranean limestone deposits have been worn either solely by water action or by the dissolving of pyrites or carbonic acid. These processes permit the outflow of the subterranean rivers to the river regions and probably take effect far beneath the surface that is worked at present.

A part of the blue clay of this region is extremely rich in fine gold but is so tough that washing it out is very difficult. The clay obtained from the pay stratum is therefore spread on the ground, exposed to the sun until it crumbles, and then crushed before it is washed out. This is the case near Shaw's Flat where the miners seemed to work in a large adobe factory. In Goldspring the pay dirt is carried in wheelbarrows or on mules to the water ditches, and water privileges, measured by distance to the main pool, are worth from $500 to $1500.

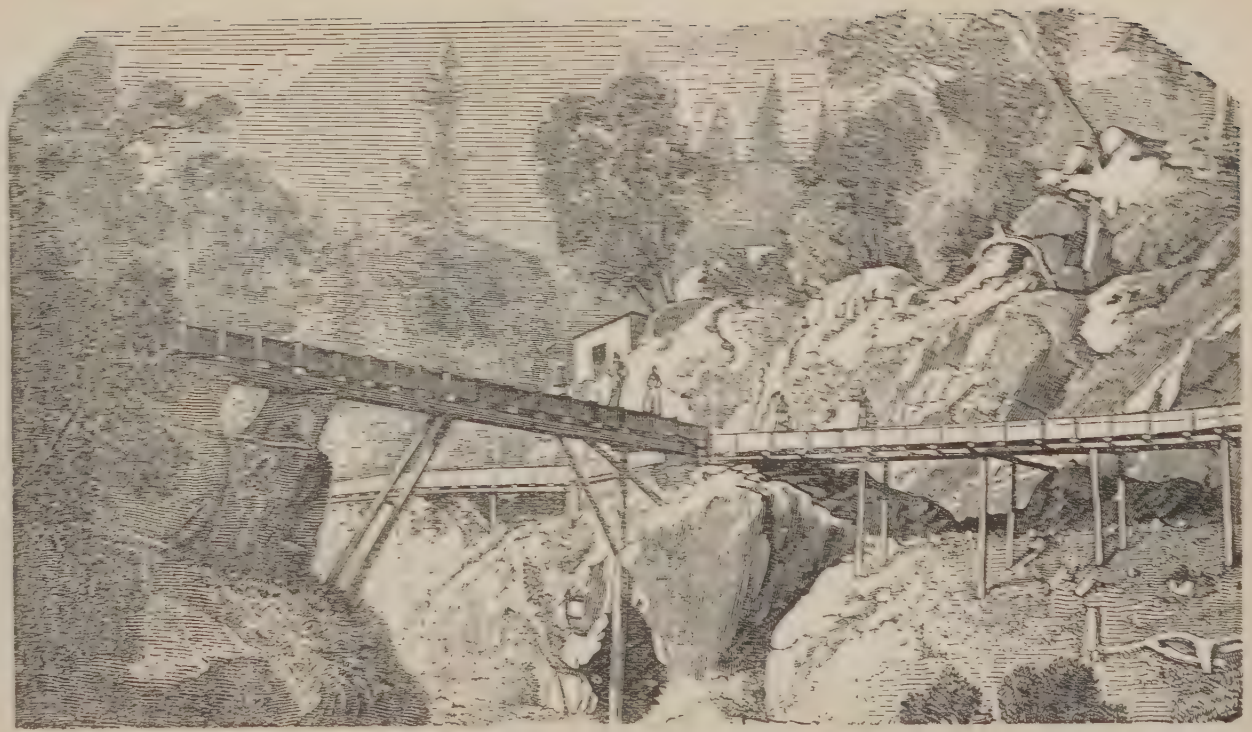
Columbia itself is built on one of the limestone deposits. The town is newer than Sonora, has been destroyed by fire more than once, but recently it has been rebuilt to its former size with many brick buildings in the heart of the town, especially on the main street. There are suburbs of charming cottages surrounded by groves and orchards whose produce already surpasses the local needs. At the time of the discovery of the gold districts of Columbia a flood of several thousand human beings, as colorful a mixture of nationality as in any of the other mining places poured into the town and carried on their wild activi-

ties. Soon, however, the Anglo-Saxon element made itself felt. Gambling halls and other recreations of the Spanish population were abolished and Columbia presents the sight of a flourishing town with an industrious population among whom the Germans predominate. Signs in all languages greet the newcomer, who sometimes does not know in which dictionary to look for aid in deciphering them. It seems he will even need the help of the classical languages. Our new traveling companion racked his brains for the meaning of what he thought were Latin words: "Ice Cream" on signs in front of several neat little shops. He was most pleasantly enlightened, however, by eating the refreshing delicacy on a sultry afternoon.

From Reservoir Hill, near Columbia, there is an interesting panoramic view of the whole mining district between the slopes of the eastern mountain chain and Bear Mountains and Table Mountains in the west. The flattened valley basin lies spread before the eyes of the observer, supporting the theory that this was formerly an inland sea.

In the friendly company of Mr. Heyneman and Dr. Windler we took a pleasant walk along the canal to the projects higher up on St. Diego Hill where the power of the hydraulics has dug deep artificial gorges. My attention was drawn especially to the so-called Cannonade Claim on St. Diego Hill near Columbia which presented an excellent subject for a sketch. It lies southeast of Columbia about 300 yards beyond the city limits. Early in 1853 a prospect shaft, sixty feet deep, was sunk through the iron clay and gravel conglomerate under the direction of Dr. Windler. Although gold was found the shaft lay idle until fall when drift work was undertaken at the base of the shaft and $3 to $4 was obtained by washing the pay dirt in the nearest water. In the spring of 1854 the new company undertook to build a deep drainage canal through massive limestone on the northern slope of the hill with the intention of connecting it with the base of the shaft and exploiting the pay dirt by ground sluicing. The claim received its name from the continual blasting which sounded like artillery fire. The pay dirt, meager at first, increased in content in relation to the depth and occasionally produced $60 to $70 weekly per share. A quarter of the claim was then sold for $1000 and the new shareholders took the trouble to build a tunnel to the west side to obtain a drain fall thirty feet deeper. This permitted the use of hydraulics with water furnished by the Columbia & Stanislaus Water Company. These arrangements, together with the framework for filling the wash box used for the pay dirt taken from the depths, have made this claim a mining model of this region, as use is made of every possible device under the given conditions. The claim has produced $30,000 and promises to yield $30,000 more in the next five years.

A little farther on in the direction of Yankee Hill are the places previously mentioned where the vertical cave openings or natural shafts (funnel-shaped openings in limestone caves) are found. Their capacity for taking in any amount of water (which has been tried out by draining neighboring mines) proves the existence of a subterranean drainage canal.



FLUMING ACROSS A GORGE. Shows the traversing of a gorge to connect a side canal with the main canal which runs along the opposite bank. The steep mountain wall on the left side contains the transition from the original ditch to the aqueduct or flume, although the overhanging tree hides it.

The horizontal lines of several water conduits can be distinguished on the summit of Yankee Hill. One of these is like a mountain torrent and in spite of the distance the glistening of the water as it rushes from the summit is plainly visible.

The most striking object in all this panorama is the so-called High Flume which brings the water of the Columbia and Stanislaus Canals from the neighboring hills across a deep gorge and then in an almost right-angled turn takes it to the real Columbia district. A covered pipe line crosses the gorge in place of the open box flume used on either side. The latter has been adapted to the slopes by means of a syphon which lowers the level about thirty feet so that after crossing the gorge the water is forced upwards by the natural pressure of its fall from the level from which it has just dropped. The excellent carpenter work of the supporting columns rising from the chasm gives an idea of the difficulties of the enterprise and of the facility afforded by the syphon, previously mentioned, which does away with the necessity of more supports.

The aqueduct of the Columbia & Stanislaus River Water Company is really the gigantic project of Tuolumne County and no other mining region has surpassed this enterprise in either the boldness or the perseverance of its execution. It brings the water from the sources of the Tuolumne [Stanislaus?] across chasms and along perpendicular rock walls where mountain sprites and gnomes seem to have substituted for human powers, as courage and genius have really conquered seemingly invincible obstacles here. The length of the main canal alone is seventy miles. It took almost a year to build, and it cost, including the labor, $1,380,000. From the practical point of view the enterprise has justified all hopes and has become a blessing to the Columbia mining district. It is too bad that from a financial point of view it has been a great annoyance and encumbrance for all the shareholders and has proved to be a source of conflict for them. For years lawsuits concerning it have filled the courts of Sonora and Sacramento.

South of Columbia a wooden bridge crosses a ravine, formerly a river bed but which has lost all signs of its former banks, and in reality is now a row of funnel shaped depressions in the brick red clay, lying between colossal limestone rocks where pumping plants have been set up to drain the mines, using the water to operate the wash boxes and to exploit by hose the material taken from the carts. Groups of red-skinned people give this Danaid work a truly demoniac appearance, and seeing such mining methods in operation one gets an idea of the great value procured not only by bringing water to the project but by its drainage.

The so-called Table Mountain is one of the geologic curiosities of the Tuolumne mining region. Although much has been written and conjectured about this mountain formation, no one has yet supplied a completely satisfactory explanation for its origin and for the treasures concealed beneath its dross. The observations put forth so far, both about the mountain itself and its underlying strata, seem to point out that this extensive trap formation, which extends for 70 miles, and is nowhere more than half a mile wide, rising 40 to 150 feet above

the level of the surrounding country, is an ancient lava stream which owed its origin to a primeval eruption in the Sierra Nevada and which followed the auriferous bed or valley of a still older river and filled it with its downpouring mass. The original position of this cooled lava has been changed by floods and other causes in the course of centuries. The direction of the formation is generally parallel with the rivers which rise in the Sierra Nevada and here it approaches the Stanislaus, there the Tuolumne, following for the most part the direction of the latter. For many years this mountain has been the object of stubborn and daring mining operations. Countless tunnels and shafts have been dug from the direction of Shaw Flat and Springfield in search of the pay layer on the bedrock. The success of individuals who were fortunate in finding their object was seeming proof of the theory of a continuous gold deposit on the bedrock but caused bitter disappointment for the majority and spelled ruin for the most persevering.

Very well satisfied with the visit to Columbia, we went to Sonora on the evening of the 26th to wait for the Stockton stage after we had reserved our places in it by telegraph. The town was in the midst of election excitement, but the complete order evident even at such a time earned our whole-hearted respect. It was filled to overflowing with guests. Those who found no lodging spent the night as best they could. On returning to our rooms the next morning to fetch our valises after drinking a cup of coffee across the street, we found all our beds occupied by snoring guests. At three in the morning we entered the stage which, when winged with fleet relays, soon rattled across the uneven, bumpy ground which informed us for miles that we were traveling in mining districts. The sun was already shining brightly when we passed through the last of these, Montezuma and Chinese Camp. In the latter place even the buildings, signs and other arrangements bore the characteristics of the celestial empire. Filled to the brim with moon-eyed traveling companions, the stage proceeded on its way. Our driver, a man of very respectable appearance, was a fine example of that honorable profession. It was with reluctance that we exchanged him in Knight's Ferry for a younger successor who, however, also displayed ability and skill, and in spite of the fact that the harness broke three times and we had extremely spirited horses, brought us in on time.

On arriving in Stockton we had just time to shake off some of the dust of travel, eat a hasty meal and board the waiting boat. Leaving the Slough and entering the San Joaquin we followed its serpentine course while in the lovely evening light Mount Diablo appeared before us, now to the left, now to the right, and then behind us. Its tranquil glory rose above the waves of the grassy fields, presenting the last beautiful picture of our travel-panorama until the bell of the steamer announced our arrival at the wharf of San Francisco.

Notes to Tables. Values of quartz mills, aqueducts, etc. have been compiled according to the valuation for taxes, while actual costs are really far greater.

In the first tables the production capacity of sawmills is incorrectly given because of insufficient information; it is for

the northern region		(6	counties)	126	millions
" middle	"	3	"	96	"
" southern	"	3	"	61	"

That is in all almost 300 million feet per year, which are used mostly in the mines.

Table of Statistics of the Gold Region in 1858 with a Review of Stock Raising and Agriculture

Industries of the Twelve Counties	Plumas	Yuba	Sierra	Nevada	Butte	Shasta	Placer	El Dorado	Amador	Calaveras	Tuolumne	Mariposa
Mining Interests:												
Quartz stamp mills												
Number	8	8	13	29	17	5	17	40	32	53	30	32
Value	$10,000	$80,000	$150,000	$500,000	$250,000	$48,000	$170,000	$300,000	$230,000	$377,000	$280,000	$380,000
Aqueducts, number	92	31	114	86	30	24	35	43	321	54	14	10
Length in Miles	201	241	291	696	450	104	550	1150	475	550	181	65
Cost	$600,000	$700,000	$520,000	$1,700,000	$800,000	$300,000	$1,500,000	$1,600,000	$1,050,000	$1,600,000	$1,481,000	$145,000
Bridges	4	13	4	9	1	5	9	16	6	11	3	1
Ferries	1	4	.....	.....	8	11	.....	.....	2	2	8	5
Highways, number	2	3	1(5 Miles	21	.....	12 Miles	8	7	3	7	.....	25 Miles
Sawmills, number	28	27	32	42	17	15	23	41	19	16	22	5
Product. Capacity, ft. yrly.	20 Mill.	10 Mill.	26 Mill.	40 Mill	18 Mill.	12½ Mill.	23 Mill.	43 Mill.	30 Mill.	26 Mill.	30 Mill.	5 Mill.
Costs	$64,000	$90,000	$184,000	$107,000	$60,000	$67,000	$52,000	$74,000	$73,000	$109,000	270,000	85,000
Other Mills and Enterprises	(Incomplete	information)					(Incomplete	information				
Stockraising:												
Horses	303	1250	240	936	2000	914	900	10,002	1150	1345	834	520
Mules	460	.....	522	240	480	307	373	324	262	203	394	200
Donkeys	36	.....	40	.....	98	30	80	104	150	72	85	30
Horned Cattle	5117	6150	400	2600	21,500	7800	4358	7011	4025	7500	3500	3000
Hogs	619	5000	500	2000	9000	7650	5000	1800	1672	3020	1100	800
Sheep	.....	5600	175	400	17,000	650	3835	1514	2983	4588	645	2000
Wool, pound	.....	21,000	.....	.....	10,300	.....	.....	4000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Agriculture:												
Fenced land, Acres	.....	40,000	.....	.....	25,000	2080	.....	22,000	.....	21,000	.....	.....
Suitable for cultiv., Acres	17,420	280,000	.....	45,000	.....	62,000	.....	.....	47,491	.....	11,894	.....
Under cultivation, Acres	4939	23,000	.....	28,000	12,850	4400	.....	7000	7509	5648	4363	.....
	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.		Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.	Acr. Bush.
Crops — Wheat	3080 49,200	3363 85,970	....	4500 112,000	2500 52,500	1200 24,000	5500 108,000	1016 10,250	1476 22,140	676 6,760	535 10,750	288 5,600
Barley	290 5,800	5756	....	6500 26,000	4000 68,200	1870 26,000	5000 100,000	1511 17,150	1828 36,560	1998 23,976	2336 70,000	500 10,000
Oats	702 17,500	300	....	1400 56,000	238 6,240	700 1,400	400 for hay	1720 8,211	300 7,500	562 2,810	913 19,260	50 1,000
Potatoes	208 16,000	....	....	5000	39 10,000	48 6,000	....	43 6,375	....	50 7,500	112	10 .....
Hay	2000 2000 T.	1845 2395 T.	....	....	1620 1800 T.	1700 1200 T.	....	1383 1383 T.	2000	2360 2360 T.	..... 843 T	..... 300 T.
Orchards — Apples, trees.	155	25,000	.....	20,000	10,000	4000	2800	64,000	2626	8850	16,000	3200
Peaches, "	5840	125,000	.....	300,000	66,300	7000	6166	47,000	5353	15,500	24,000	2500
Pears, "	.....	6,000	.....	15,000	2,341	500	300	5000	468	1020	6000	.....
Other fruit	.....	15,000	.....	relatively	40,000	10,000	2000	6000	4000	2000	2000	2500
Wine, number of vines	1195	50,000	.....	8000	80,000	25,000	5000	77,000	.....	25,000	57,500	15,000

NOTE BY THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE: Three years after the publication of the foregoing account of the California gold region, Mr. Vischer printed a broadside entitled "California at the Close of 1863. The Situation, and a Three Years' Retrospect." A copy of this rare document is in the possession of Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, through whose courtesy it has been made available to us. In this broadside much is said of the war and its effects on California, and at the end its author takes occasion to advertise his "Sketches of the Washoe Mining Region" and his "Views of California." He discusses the great flood of 1861-62, the passage of the Pacific Railroad Bill, the Overland Telegraph, the Pony Express, steamship communication, Chinese immigration, the tremendous growth of the "Washoe" mining region, and other items of similar interest. Of the California mining situation, he says:

> "It is worthy of notice that while the silver discoveries east of the Sierra Nevada are partly due to the impoverishment of a portion of our own mining population, through the immediate disasters by flood and other causes leading their energies on to new fields of labor, these very discoveries on the other side have been as it were the camp of instruction to our prospectors for the discovery of analogous conditions on this side of the mountains, and hence the multitude and variety of simultaneous silver discoveries in the *California Mining Region.*
>
> "We need scarcely to point out the advantage of our mining region over the distant new mining fields, *in the economy of treatment of the metals,* which has proved itself of so great advantage in the prosecution of mining with rock of only moderate richness. Thus rock which in Washoe would not pay for the expense of working, would here leave a large profit; and though there is no lack of *mines of positive richness* in California (ore of high-pay), the true merit of its mining region will be found to consist in veins of a steady yield of good paying rock, accessible to simple treatment, in the localities offering the most favorable combination of cheapness of material and labor,—and in this sense our own mining region is inexhaustible."

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA, 1843-1856

THE GASQUET DOCUMENTS

(Continued)

X.

Gasquet to Minister of Foreign Affairs

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches." Direction Commerciale, No. 4, received Feb. 12, 1846. Ministerial note, "Direction Politique.")

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, October — 1845.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Since the departure of the despatch that I had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency on June fifteenth last [Document VIII] and the duplicate of which I sent the twenty-ninth of the same month; this country is much changed in aspect; ruptures have reduced it to a sad estate. Everyone wants to command and no one wants to obey; orders cross each other and contradict each other; it is no longer possible to understand anything about them. The intrigues of the agents sent from Mexico, [and the] fear of a Mexican expedition which is constantly threatened but never occurs, have made this situation deplorable, Some little desire for resistance has been shown; tentative organizations have been made to this end, but above all, union was needed and that has been entirely lacking. Now all hasten to submit. [*C'est à qui s'empressera de se soumettre.*] Quarrels are suspended but not appeased, and if the troops from Mexico do not come, they will begin all over again, and we run the risk of seeing them degenerate into civil war. Already an armed movement by Monterey against Los Angeles had taken place; the troops had left, the commanders were to follow; at this point a messenger from Mexico arrived, on secret mission, to see the two leaders of this movement, who are the most influential men in California. His arrival changed the plans, and the soldiers were ordered back to their quarters. But all that, I repeat to Your Excellency, is only suspended, and is by no means the only danger which menaces the country. The Americans consider it their legitimate prey. At this time they are on the coast, awaiting the first sign of war, which appears inevitable, in order to throw themselves upon it with the impetuosity of a long-restrained covetousness. They will not fail to seize upon the occasion definitely to establish their domination. However, the Californians have little liking for them. They have neither the same manners nor the same customs, the same language nor the same religion. Everything leads one to believe that if they were free to place themselves under the sovereignty or simply under the protection of a great power, their choice

would not fall upon that nation. They will submit to law, as they feel themselves incapable of effective resistance. I have received many complaints and many confidences on this subject; desires have been manifested to me with the hope that circumstances, being improved will permit of carrying them to a result which would fill them with joy.

Your Excellency will please to do me the honor of thinking that I receive these overtures with the greatest reserve; I know the delicacy of my position and I try to avoid letting the parties fence with my words. However, I do not on that account miss any opportunity to praise the power and the generosity of France, and to show her as carrying afar her civilizing action and spreading her noble protection over all scattered members of the great Catholic family. Your Excellency could hardly blame me for using these generalities that each one is free to interpret according to his own lights and which cannot arouse [even] the most susceptible to suspicion. For the rest, I have only to congratulate myself upon the terms on which I find myself with the influential men of the country; everywhere I meet eagerness and kind attentions; nothing of importance takes place which is not communicated to me and it rests only with me to become the private counselor of the government. But this rôle does not suit me; I am content to listen without ever advising, only allowing myself, from time to time, some innocent observation. And it is not from one side alone that these testimonies of consideration and confidence reach me, it is from all sides. I would congratulate myself with a bit of pride, Monsieur le Ministre, on these dispositions which are shown me, if I did not know how easy it is for the agent of a country like France to inspire them, quite apart from any personal merit.

My mission would be made easier still, I permit myself to repeat to Your Excellency, if, from time to time, a vessel of the King might come to visit us. In the midst of present circumstances, a cruise along these coasts would seem to me required by the probability of having to protect the interests and the persons of our countrymen against the consequences of internal conflicts of a Mexican occupation, or of a taking of possession by the Americans. These are the three events which are equally menacing and which may at any moment burst upon the country.

I have the honor of renewing my request to Your Excellency for instructions to guide me in the midst of these conflicts, so that I may act in the interests of France.

I have also the honor of informing Your Excellency that, by my dispatch dated today, I am informing the Minister of the Navy of the arrival and sojourn in the waters of Monterey of His Majesty's Corvette *Héroïne* commanded by M. Lecointe. I am telling His Excellency of the good effect produced by it on the inhabitants;[1] of the desertion of two sailors of its crew and of their arrest

[1] Baron de Mackau, Minister of the Navy and of the Colonies, writing to the Minister of Foreign Affairs under date of February 18, 1846, quotes as follows from a letter written by Gasquet, apparently the one here referred to:

"I think I can assure Your Excellency that the sight of the guns on the *Héroïne* produced a very favorable effect on the spirit of the inhabitants. They

which was effected on my demand through the care of the authorities with laudable haste and zeal. I am informing His Excellency also of the coming of the ship *Medicis*[2] of Le Havre, Captain M. Hugues, bearing a state transport patent delivered by the Governor of the French establishments in Oceania, with the mission of loading cattle for the Marquesas Islands and wood for Tahiti. I noted, finally, the calling at port of the *Argo*, whaling ship of Nantes, captain M. de Grandsaigne; [and] the desertion of five men of his crew whose arrest is pursued with all haste.

Your Excellency will see by the foregoing facts that the present authorities have lent us loyal cooperation and have evinced a good-will to which we were not accustomed under the Mexican authority. Also, thanks to these dispositions, I have every reason to hope that desertions will become very rare in these parts, if we do not succeed in preventing them entirely.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, M. le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET

XI

GASQUET TO BARON ALLEYE DE CYPREY, FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO

(Copy enclosed with Document XIII to Guizot. Box Monterey: Correspondence de M. Gasquet. Dossier "Dépêches.")

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, October 14, 1845

Monsieur le Baron,

I received the despatch numbered 1 which you did me the honor of addressing to me on the twenty-fourth of last May.

In the interval, I had the honor of writing you on the fifteenth of June. My

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thought it would not be well to insult or maltreat the French who live in California or who come there to trade. It became well understood that the Commandant's mission was to obtain full satisfaction for the attempted assassinations of which Mexican soldiers had been guilty toward sailors of the *Angelina*, whaler from Havre, during her sojourn in the waters of Monterey; and although the language of the Commandant bore imprint of great moderation, it carried conviction that like scenes could not be re-enacted with impunity. Beyond this, the mission of M. Lecointe could have no further object—the guilty parties were no longer there. They had been driven out by the very revolution which their excesses had brought on. The Mexican Government, responsible for the acts of its agents, alone owes a reparation which the Government of the King will know how to obtain." Foreign Affairs, Mexico, Vol. 30 F. 230.

[2] The French bark, *Le Medicis*, Hugues master, left Honolulu in June, 1845. Bancroft says that there is no record of its arrival in California. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 567.

letter was entrusted to M. Carlos Baric,[1] supercargo of the *Primavera*[2] which was going to Acapulco. Since that time no event of importance has taken place; however, there is a great divergence between the situation of that time and that of today. Ruptures which were just appearing and which the quickest eye would have had difficulty in discovering, have spread all over the country and have reduced it to a most deplorable state. The arrival, at the pueblo of Los Angeles, of M. Hijar,[3] sent by the Mexican government, gave the signal. He was able, with uncommon skill, to exploit the rivalries which exist between that city and Monterey; he gained control of the departmental assembly and succeeded in making it eliminate from the candidacy for the post of governor, the most influential and most capable man in California, M. Jean Baptiste Alvarado[4] whom everyone expected to see unanimously elected. This elimination probably would have had dire results in bringing about an armed conflict between the military and civil authorities, and it is presumed that these latter as well as M. Hijar would have been obliged to abandon the party if the schooner *Soledad*[5] had not, in the meantime, arrived at San Pedro. She brought M. Flores,[6] who came for the purpose of taking the votes of the assembly for the presidency. The news that he brought of the near arrival of a Mexican expedition calmed belligerent intentions; military authority remained under cover and let affairs go on, awaiting a better occasion. However they were arming at Monterey, they were getting recruits, they were equipping them! These tendencies were threatening for the dissenters and evidenced, perhaps, the intention of opposing by force the entrance of Mexican troops. The delay of the expedition in arriving weakened, in their minds, the impression that his [Flores'] announcement had produced. They were becoming accustomed to consider [such announcements] with more *sang froid* and they were going so far as to believe that it would not come. Disputes were breaking out more strongly between M. Pio Pico, Governor, and M. José Antonio Carillo, special Commandant at Los Angeles. The latter had the Governor arrested with his brother André Pico and a Frenchman named Coubarrouges[7] who was exercising the functions of Secretary General of the Government. He held them in prison

[1] Charles Baric was a Frenchman who arrived in California from Mexico in the Hijar and Padrés colony in 1834. For ten years or more he was a trader at Los Angeles, being but twenty-seven years of age when he arrived in California. He married in California, and was active in affairs in and about Los Angeles. In 1844 he was owner or master of the *Primavera*. (Bancroft, II, 710.)

[2] The *Primavera* was a Mexican brig. It was at Monterey in the autumn of 1844, and Casquet arrived upon it in March, 1845. It was at Monterey in June. (Bancroft, IV, 568.)

[3] José Maria Hijar was a wealthy and influential Mexican from Jalisco who joined J. M. Padrés and others in organizing the Hijar colony in California. His colony was a failure and he was sent back to Mexico on an ill founded charge of conspiracy. He returned to California in 1845 as a *comisionado* of the Mexican Government to formulate plans and aid in resisting the United States. He died at Los Angeles not very long after his arrival. (Bancroft, III, *passim*, and IV, 529 *et seq.*)

[4] Juan B. Alvarado was a very influential man in California politics and government especially after the revolution of 1836 at which time he became Governor. Concerning him see Bancroft, *op. cit.* III, IV, *passim*. Alvarado's "Historia de California" and his "Documentos para la Historia de California" are in manuscript form in the Bancroft Library.

[5] *Soledad*, a Mexican brig. At San Pedro in July, 1845, with dispatches and with Captain Flores as a passenger. Bancroft, IV, 568.

[6] Captain José Maria Flores. See *ibid.*, III, 741 and references there cited.

[7] José Maria Covarrubias.

for three days, at the end of which the Governor, having succeeded in winning over the troops, again assumed his authority and discharged the Commandant but did not imprison him. This news, when it was known here, provoked violent reactions against Pio Pico. M. Castro, Commandant General, and M. Alvarado decided to march on Los Angeles at the head of some soldiers who were at their disposal. The troops actually left, the chiefs were to follow the next day, when the arrival of M. [Andrès] Castilléro,[8] envoy from Mexico on special mission concerning Alvarado and Castro, suspended their departure, and required countermanding the movement of the troops. It was announced at the same time, and a ship coming from Acapulco confirmed the news, that 2,000 Mexican soldiers were going to embark in that port for Upper California. All idea of resistance then vanished, and the people were disposed to submit to the law. In the meantime, the disputes and the conflicts are increasing; one no longer knows whom to listen to, and to add to the trouble, the Indians, profiting by the government's embarrassment, are redoubling their audacity and are becoming very menacing to the general safety.

There, Monsieur le Baron, you have the true state of this unfortunate country. I do not know what will come of all this, for, if the present is sad, the future presages nothing good, and I fear very much lest it become worse. You know better than I the lack of foresight of the Mexican government; if there is some truth in all these rumors of the sending of a considerable force into California, you will soon learn that these men, receiving neither pay nor food, have given themselves over to all sorts of excesses and have ended in ruining this department.

In the midst of these circumstances, I do not cease, for one moment, to be the object of attentions and kindness from all. I have received many complaints and many confidences. Some desires are manifested, more than one thought has veered toward France. The generous hearts, those who dream of a future of grandeur and liberty for their country, as well as those who are alarmed and disturbed by revolutionary movements, and who ask only to live in peace in the shadow of a strong and prosperous government, would see with joy the destiny of their country blended with that of a great nation such as the French nation. They feel the incapacity of the Mexican government for advancing the well being of California, and they understand with sorrow that it [California] does not in itself possess the elements necessary to constitute an independent state. On the other hand they follow, with uneasy eyes, the progress that American emigration is making, and which will tend, in a short time, to make the Americans masters of this country, if care is not taken. In general they [the Californians] have little sympathy for this people, and are far from desiring its domination; they would accept it only as a last resort.

I thank you, Monsieur le Baron, for the rules of conduct which you have kindly traced for me in my delicate and difficult position. Through good fortune, which I appreciate fully, I had conjectured what they would be and had put them into practice before your despatch reached me. Be assured that I shall try

[8] Andres Castillero. See Bancroft, II, 749, and references there given.

not to diverge from them. But allow me to insist anew upon the necessity of having on these coasts a respectable force. More than ever it seems necessary to me, in order to protect the interests and persons of our countrymen, in the quite probable case of internal struggle, military occupation by Mexico, or an American invasion, if, as all the indications are, war should break out between the United States and Mexico. Already two American cutters have appeared in Monterey waters. They say that the fleet under orders of the Commodore has been seen in these parts. It is evident that at the first signal these forces will pounce upon California, which they have for a long time coveted and which seems to them an easy prey. One fine day the Mexican flag will be hauled down, in its place the Union flag will be hoisted, and all will be over. It is an almost inevitable result, and, in my opinion, quite deplorable.

I have the honor of informing you, Monsieur le Baron, that our complaints have been heard. We have been visited by His Majesty's corvette, the *Héroïne,*[9] commanded by M. Lecointe. Her time was allotted in such a way that she could only give us eight days. Having arrived on the second of July, she left again on the tenth for the Sandwich Islands, Marquesas Islands and Tahiti whence she is to return to Valparaiso. It was too short, for the time flew. We need a permanent cruiser, and, lacking that, if it is impossible to have one during the whole time that the crisis of this country lasts, at least frequent visits. Nevertheless, short as was the stay of the corvette, it produced some effects. It revived memories of our navy, so long forgotten, as well as the sympathy which the inhabitants bear toward us. Our seamen were well welcomed by the population; perfect harmony has continued to exist between them. As for our grievances, particularly those relative to the deplorable scenes which marked the stay of the *Angelina*[10] commanded by M. Hiène; M. Lecointe having asked for explanations, it was answered that the inhabitants of Monterey had blamed the Mexican soldiers for the excesses committed by them upon the crew of that ship, as well as the guilty tolerance of the Governor; that they had shared in the sufferings that this miserable soldiery has inflicted on the country, but that if it were not in their power to repair the evil which had been done, they could assure him [Lecointe] that as long as the authority rested in their hands, such a thing would not recur, their well-fixed intention being to cultivate for France a friendship which they greatly valued. M. Lecointe was satisfied, as well he might be. After all, it is the Mexican government which is responsible for its agents and on this point it is from that government that satisfaction should be demanded and not from these poor people who are powerless to help.

Since I have mentioned the name of M. Hiène, I shall impart to you, Monsieur le Baron, some sad news concerning him. Finding himself near an island which is

[9] The *Héroïne* was a French man-of-war commanded by Lecointe. It was at Monterey in July, 1845. See Introduction and more especially Nasatir, "French Activities in California prior to Statehood," cited in the Introduction.

[10] The *Angelina,* in charge of Ed. Hyenne, was a French whaler at Monterey. Its crew had a fight with Micheltorena's "Cholos" and the *Héroïne* was sent to demand reparation. See Introduction, and especially, Nasatir, "French Activities in California prior to Statehood," *op. cit.*

a part of the Archipelago des Malgraves, he wished to visit it, attracted by the signs of friendliness that the natives were showing him. He left with twelve men of his crew in two boats. From the ship, they were seen going onto the island; but they never reappeared on board ship. The second officer cruised in vain for fifteen days off the island; he continuously observed the two boats in the same place, but nothing which indicated the existence of his captain and those who had accompanied him. He was forced to abandon these parts in the most bitter uncertainty of their fate. He betook himself to the Sandwich Islands, to the Governor of the French colonies in Oceania, where he made out a report of the circumstances of this sad event. It is to be presumed that M. Bruot will have sent a state ship to search for our unfortunate countrymen. God grant that they may be found alive. This news was given me by M. de Grandsaigne, captain of the *Argo*, whaling vessel from Nantes, on its call at Monterey a month ago. He had met the second officer of the *Angelina* at the Sandwich Islands and it was from his own mouth that he learned the details. The stay of the *Argo* almost caused difficulties between the consulate and the customs. This is what gave rise to them.

Shortly before his fall from authority, General Micheltorena had issued an order by which he exacted from the whaling ships which called at the ports of Monterey and San Francisco a duty of thirty *piastres*. Up to now this order had slept in the files of the customs. One of the employees who is to become administrator exhumed it and wanted to apply it to the *Argo*. On the complaint of the Captain, I spoke to the present administrator who had not been consulted. This officer exempted the *Argo* from the tax and in offering me his regrets promised to write to the Governor to ask him for the abrogation of a measure which violates the treaties and which, moreover, is contrary to the well-understood interests of California. On this subject, I am permitting myself to ask you, Monsieur le Baron, if special treaties really exist, or whether there are in the general treaties particular clauses on this matter. I would be infinitely obliged to you if you would acquaint me with them so that, if later they insist on the collection of this tax, I could at least cite articles which forbid that it be given effect.

I have still another question to submit to you, Monsieur le Baron, which is quite important. Since I have been in California, Spanish subjects who are established there have evinced the desire of placing themselves under my protection; or at least claiming it if circumstances require. The Italians on their part have evinced the same wishes. I am very much embarrassed, I must say, for I have found nothing in my instructions which authorizes me to intervene. Will you have the goodness, Monsieur le Baron, to fix the limits within which I should extend my action in favor of these foreigners, if I can, without any inconvenience, take their interests in my hands.

You will learn with some satisfaction, Monsieur le Baron, that my presence has already produced good results. I obtained the arrest of two deserters from the *Héroïne*. For nearly three months they have reflected in prison on the evils of desertion. I shall put them on the first French warship which calls at Monterey, or in lieu of that, on a merchant vessel. Five men from the crew of the *Argo* have

disappeared since the sixteenth of September; I just learned that they were discovered twenty-two leagues from here on a rancho belonging to the father-in-law of a pretended Frenchman whom I strongly suspect of having enticed them away. On asking the Commandant General to pursue these deserters, I requested him at the same time to proceed against those who had aided them in their flight. The Commandant promised to give them exemplary punishment if they succeeded in discovering them. Now I shall remind him of his promise. An example will suffice to frighten crimps, and I have every reason to think that desertion, that shameful scar on our Navy, will disappear from these parts.

I have the honor . . .

[This is a copy, unsigned.]

XII

Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. Gasquet, Acting Consul of France at Monterey, No. 2

(Box Monterey; Minutes. Direction Commerciale)

[Paris,] September 29, 1845

I have received, Monsieur, the letter which you wrote me from Monterey under date of June 15 [Document VIII], and I thank you for the information which it contains. I am counting upon your care in transmitting to me information as exact as possible concerning the practical and commercial situation of the country in which you have been called to reside.

As for instructions, for which you ask, in view of the eventualities indicated in your letter, I have not, Monsieur, anything to send you about it. I must only recall to you, [that] regardless of whatever may be the events of which California might be the theater, you shall not make any intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and that except for the protection of the national interests directly entrusted to its care, the mission of the consulate of Monterey must be confined to instructing my department and the legation of His Majesty in Mexico of all the facts of which it is important that the government of the King should have knowledge. This is an observation which you will please call particularly to the attention of M. Moerenhaut when you give up the office to him.

Receive, etc.

XIII

Gasquet to Minister of Foreign Affairs

(Box Monterey: Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches." Direction Commerciale et du Contentieux No. 8, Primata. Received June 14, 1846.)

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, November 30, 1845

Monsieur le Ministre,

The situation of this country is not improved; far from that, it grows worse every day and truly I no longer know how it will emerge from the anarchy which

has become its lot. The authorities are disputing among themselves for power and influence. The Governor just recently made a *coup d' état*.[1] He arrested his brother-in-law, special Commandant of Los Angeles, with one of his aides, and without further ceremony or formality, has sent them on board a Mexican ship which will take them to Mazatlan. This act affects keenly the authority of the Commandant General who feels this a blow [to his power] from his subordinate; but he is a man who talks more than he acts, who believes himself to have the power, with the aid of smooth words, to arrange all controversies and who is every day losing ground for that same reason, in the minds and dispositions of his partisans. The population of Santa Barbara has risen against the authority of the Governor, under the influence of a near relative of the deported Commandant. It [the population] has sent to the Commandant General two commissioners to advise him of the state of affairs and to implore his prompt arrival at the head of the forces which he is making ready, with the intention of marching, jointly with him [?] on Los Angeles, and of overthrowing the Governor as well as the faction which supports him. The Commandant is very much embarrassed; for he finds himself in a very delicate situation. No one knows anything about the Mexican expedition. This ignorance makes him afraid to entangle himself in an affair which would be considered by Mexico as an attack directed against the central authority; the acts of the Governor being approved and covered by the presence with him (*auprès de lui*) of an envoy extraordinary of the supreme government. There, I believe, is the real cause of the hesitation and the weakness which he manifests. For upon other occasions he has shown that he knew how to act with decision and vigor when circumstances required it. On the other hand, he understands very well that he cannot remain deaf to the call of the inhabitants of Santa Barbara without definitely alienating himself from his party [and], compelled by these two necessities, he has taken a middle course which will probably satisfy no one. He has decided to leave, publishing openly the most peaceful and conciliatory of intentions, and in support of these intentions taking with him only an escort of eight men.

The Commandant has returned. Two days distant from here he met a courier who brought him the news that the movement at Santa Barbara had quieted down and all had returned to order. This news gave him some satisfaction. He had departed, anxious and very embarrassed by the part that he would have to play, and above all, frightened by the consequences which might follow. His perplexities are over momentarily and peace has returned. I fear that it will not last long.

The Governor has shown upon this occasion, it is just to recognize it, an ability and firmness that one would not have suspected in him. There is every appearance that they came to him from the same cause that made the Commandant so circumspect. The advice of M. Hijar, the Mexican envoy, and the news of the coming of Mexican troops can claim a good share of it. However, it may be that he has been happily inspired. There he is, nearly master of the situation.

But if circumstances prevent the sending of Mexican troops into California,

[1] For events chronicled in this letter see Bancroft, IV, Chap. 22.

it is probable that his power will soon meet with obstacles which might cause his downfall. This quarrel has left bad impressions in the minds [of the people] and a need for vengeance shared by the Commandant, whatever care he may take to disguise his sentiments. And then there is at the bottom of the question the Mexican cause, in view of the antipathies and hatred of the Californians. That is seen very clearly in the attitude taken by the Mexicans who live in California. All are standing by the Governor. That is understood, however, and no one could blame them for it.

These agitations cause great damage to the country. They loosen the social ties already so weak, by corrupting the people and throwing them into disorderly conduct. They impoverish it by stopping commercial transactions and take away all security from the farmers. They weaken it to the point that the Indians who know all about these ruptures give themselves up with impunity to all sorts of depredations and crimes. In a short interval of time and within a radius of ten to thirteen leagues from Monterey they have committed three murders upon isolated persons. Soon one will be unable to go out into the country, and today it would not be wise to undertake a short trip without being well armed and well accompanied.

The brief report, which I have just had the honor of making to Your Excellency, of the situation of this department, leads me to repeat that the presence of a warship is necessary on these coasts in order to protect the lives and the interests of the French who are established in California. I have been advised of the early arrival of Admiral Hamelin [Tromelin?]. With all my heart I crave his presence. He will see the state of things with his own eyes and will decide with knowledge of the situation what is advisable to do.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting Your Excellency of the arrest of five deserters from the *Argo*. On the twentieth of last October they were brought back to Monterey, put at my disposition and by me reinstated on board with the exception of one whom I had to disembark. I had the honor of giving an account of these facts to His Excellency, the Minister of the Navy. I have informed him of the flight of one of the deserters from the *Héroïne*. On the evening of the fourteenth of the same month of October, he evaded the watchfulness of the guards and succeeded in escaping. Despite the searches of the authorities, they could not apprehend him. I learned later that he had embarked on a ship which was setting sail the next day. The other I put aboard the *Argo*. I did not see any warship appear; the watchfulness of the guards is relaxing every day. I feared that either he would succeed in again fleeing or that the authorities would set him free at the expiration of three months of prison, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaties between Mexico and the several powers.

I believed it my duty to authorize the landing of one Gallais, Alexandre, engaged as steward aboard the *Argo*.[2] This very young man, since he is hardly fifteen years old, does not belong in the maritime registry at all. He showed little taste or aptitude for navigation. Recommended particularly by his family to the

[2] The French whaler *Argo* was at Monterey in August, 1845.

Captain, the latter thought that he could not better respond to the confidence placed in him than by authorizing the young Gallais to place himself in a good position at Monterey. He has entered into my service where I hope he will be able to continue. If Your Excellency knew the difficulties, not to say impossibilities, that one encounters here in procuring a servant of a little honesty, I venture to believe that you would not refuse me your approval which I solicit with entire confidence.

I join to my despatch a copy of the one which I had the honor of writing to Monsieur le Baron de Cyprey, the fourteenth of last October [Document XI]. As I have gone into details [and] have given the names of the men who actually guide California, I believed it my duty to send it to Your Excellency in case you might wish to tell me if you judge it *à propos* that I follow this method in the reports which I am called upon to address to you.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, M. le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

GASQUET
Acting Consul

XIV

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches." Direction Commerciale et du Contentieux No. 9, Primata. Received June 11, 1846.)

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, November 30, 1845

Monsieur le Ministre,

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency the copy, in extract, of a letter written by M. Sutter to one of his friends at Monterey[1] It is dated the twelfth of last October from New Helvetia, the name which he has given to an immense estate which he possesses on the left bank of the *St. Sacrement* about twenty-five leagues from its mouth. And first, a few words concerning M. Sutter.[2] He is a Swiss, and claims to have served as captain in one of the capitulated Swiss regiments which formed part of the French Royal Guard before the Revolution of 1830. I do not know when he left Europe for America. I only know that he arrived in California about 1838 or '39, coming from the Sandwich Islands; that he got from M. Alvarado, Governor at the time, the grant of the tract which he

[1] This letter probably concerned Sutter's policy during the revolt against Micheltorena. Sutter and Bidwell visited Monterey in October, 1846.

[2] Johann Augustus Sutter (1803-80) sailed for America in the summer of 1834. He arrived at San Francisco on July 1, 1839, and at Monterey on July 3, 1839. From that time on Sutter played a most important rôle in California affairs. A good deal of research work has been done at the University of California concerning Sutter and his activities while in California; especially among the great collection of Sutter documents in the Bancroft Library. Materials upon Sutter and his activities are found in large quantities in the Bancroft Library, and the Fort Sutter papers are now in the Huntington Library (San Marino, California). Dr. Clarence J. DuFour's dissertation, entitled "John A. Sutter, His Career in California before the Conquest," may be consulted in the University of California Library. See also *The Diary of Johann August Sutter*, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1932.

occupies. He hastened to take possession of it and immediately set himself to the work necessary to put it in good condition. Several men that he had brought with him served as a nucleus; little by little he attracted his neighbors the Indians [and] some Americans whom beaver hunting or the spirit of adventure were pressing on toward this point. He erected a house, a fort rather, to which he gave a kind of military organization, where guard was mounted regularly and rounds were made. He armed it with several pieces of cannon which he bought from the Russians[3] when they abandoned their establishment at Bodega. He bought from them, too, ammunition, guns in quite a great quantity, [and] a considerable amount of materials as well as certain lands.

Thanks to these purchases he has organized, with the Indians of the country over whom he exercises great influence, and with some Americans, a small military force; he has constituted himself a *demi-puissance;* he has negotiated on equal terms with the governors of California and often taken part in their troubles. Some have looked on him as an agent of an American company and even of the American government. What is nearer the truth, I believe, is that from his position he has a great interest in seeing the banks of the *Sacrement* peopled, that he invites and would, when occasion presents itself, favor American emigration, which he regards as the only one which can at once pour a numerous population into these sections. And he has need of haste, for it seems that his affairs are not in good condition. The unproductive expenses to which he has given himself have run him into debt, and if by it he has become a greater lord, I greatly fear that he is only a great lord ruined. He has debts of at least 500,000 francs; his crops barely suffice to feed the multitude of people that he keeps in his service and to pay the interest on his debt. Numerous colonists who would settle on the banks of the *St. Sacrement* would soon raise the price of the lands and would make him a rich man; for his tract has an extent of a good thirty leagues.

I have persisted in giving Your Excellency this information which will seem not too interesting, perhaps. What must be so in your eyes, Monsieur le Ministre, is the news that it announces of the early arrival in California of this great number of emigrants who are going to make the Americans masters of this country if the European governments do not watch out and do not stop their encroachments.

It ought to be evident to everyone today that the government of the Union wants to occupy California; that it is moving toward it with a firm and sure step and that it will stop only when it has absorbed California into its federation as it did Texas. It ought to be evident to everyone today that Mexico is powerless to prevent this result and to others ought to belong the care of opposing them if one considers that this annexation may bring to the United States a commercial and political preponderance dangerous to the European nations.

As for me, who am each day better able to appreciate the importance of this acquisition as well as the innumerable advantages which ought to result from it,

[3] Sutter bought out the Russians who had been established at Fort Ross since 1812, on December 13, 1841.

I am not astonished at the desires and efforts of the government of the Union. What astonishes me is that they do not awaken to other ambitions; that a great country which has the legitimate claim, whose position, moreover, demands that it provide itself with a powerful navy, which outwardly seeks to expand the superabundance of forces which are developing in its breast, does not turn its attention to this beautiful and vast territory nearly abandoned to the mercy of whoever might wish to occupy it. There it is, however, that the elements of a considerable population could be poured in; that a magnificent colony could be created which would increase, in the near future, the glory, the prosperity, and the power of the mother country.

In exposing these reflections to you, Monsieur le Ministre, I have not the least pretension, which would be perfectly ridiculous, to interfere in the political policies of the government and to point out to it what it should do. No, I have simply wished to give the alarm. I am acquainted with the enlightened solicitude which watches over the destiny of France and which has made it one of the best ruled and happiest countries in the world. I am witness, abroad, to the progress which each day makes its influence so easily and so happily directed, and I approve with all my heart any step which has produced such splendid results, which promises so many others, if France will only persevere in the new course which the keen wisdom of the King has opened to it.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul
GASQUET.

XV

GASQUET TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches"; Direction Commerciale No. 10, Primata.)

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, December 26, 1845

Monsieur le Ministre:

I hasten to transmit to Your Excellency the news of the discovery that has just been made of a mine of pit-coal situated near San Pablo Bay of San Francisco, and nearly on the sea shore. They say it is very abundant and the coal of good quality.

This discovery can exercise a happy influence on the prosperity of our establishments in Oceania as well as on our maritime commerce. Ships leaving from ports of France bound for these seas, could after unloading their cargoes, come to California to take on coal to supply the warehouses of the government[1] which would thus cheaply obtain the coal which is [now] brought at great expense from

[1] France had been obtaining her naval stores from Norway. See Duflot de Mofras, *Explorations du Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille*, Paris, 1844.

Europe. The economy which would result from this would permit of adding more steam ships to the Navy and of establishing communication between these posts and the points on the American coast where its agents reside, the absence of which makes itself quickly felt. Its power would thereby gain a rapid increase. But it is to be feared that the discovery [will] remain unproductive in the hands of the people of the country, or even that it may be exploited by English or American interests, if the Government of His Majesty does not hasten to send to the place a commissioner instructed to authenticate its existence and importance, as well as to assure the monopoly of it to France, whether it be by purchasing the tract or by leasing it for many years.

I have the honor of being with the most profound respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul
GASQUET.

XVI

GASQUET TO CASTRO, COMMANDANTE-GENERAL OF UPPER CALIFORNIA

(Documentos para la Historia de California, III, 64. MS. in Bancroft Library. (From Spanish translation.)

Comandancia General de Alta California
Consulate of France in Monterey
Monterey, January 18, 1846

The undersigned Acting Consul of France has the honor of informing Señor Don José Castro, *Comandante-General* of Upper California, that as a consequence of an argument which has just taken place at a dance, between Señor Cambuston, French citizen, and Don Manuel Castro, who was there not in an official capacity, the latter against all rules of justice has arrested Señor Cambuston and sent him to jail. It [this] is an arbitrary act without [even the] semblance of legality, against which I invoke the intervention of the *Comandante-General*. The undersigned awaits your justice [just action] in having Señor Cambuston put at liberty immediately, reserving for later enforcement the right to an indemnity.[1]

The undersigned repeats to the Señor *Comandante-General* the assurance of his very great esteem.

GASQUET

Addressed: Señor Don José Castro,
Comandante-General of Upper California
It is a copy. Monterey, January 20, 1846.

Y. DE CASTAÑEDA
(Rubric)

[1] See Introduction in this *Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3, September, 1932, for events alluded to in this letter.

XVII

Castro, Comandante-General, to Gasquet

(Documentos para la Historia de California, III, 66. MS. in Bancroft Library)
Comandancia General de Alta California:

The undersigned *Comandante-General* of Upper California has the honor of replying to the note of Señor Don Luis Gasquet, Consul of France, dated yesterday, relative to the arrest of Señor Don Enrique Cambuston, citizen of France, imposed by Señor Don Manuel Castro, Prefect of the district, in which he solicits the intervention of the authorities which he [the *Comandante-General*] exercises in order to put at liberty the said Cambuston, and in reply he says that he is sorry not to be able to comply with the said request, because of the respect which he owes to the Señor Prefect to whom the undersigned would prefer that Señor Gasquet should address himself for an explanation of this matter.[1]

The undersigned has the honor of offering the Consul of France the assurance of his esteem and very high regard.

God and Liberty. Monterey, January 19, 1846.

José Castro

Addressed: The Consul of France in this department,
Luis Gasquet.

It is a copy. Monterey, January 20, 1846.

Y. de Castañeda (Rubric)

XVIII

Gasquet to Minister of Foreign Affairs

(Box Monterey; Correspondence de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches"; Direction Commerciale, Bureau d'Amerique No. 12, Primata)

Consulate of France at Monterey
Monterey, March 25, 1846

Monsieur le Ministre,

Since the departure of my despatch of the thirtieth of last November, numbered eight [Document XIII], a reversal of opinion has operated in favor of the Commandant General which has made him ascendant. The death of M. Hijar, Mexican envoy, and the certainty acquired today that troubles supervening in Mexico will prevent the sending of troops into California, have contributed greatly to this change. One fact, the causes of which rest in the dark and which were quite grave, ended in rallying opinion to the Commandant. I refer to an invasion, or rather to an attempt at invasion by armed force, made by Captain Frémont at

[1] Gasquet, unsatisfied with this reply, made a further appeal to Governor Pio Pico. Bancroft's abstract of a letter in the Departmental State Papers indicates how the Governor undertook to settle the dispute:

"March 9, 1846.—Angeles. . . . He proposes that the argument or point of difference be settled in a friendly way, he, Pico, reprimanding the Prefect on account of his lack of experience, and the consul [reprimanding] H. Cambuston on account of his violent temper. He gives assurance of his friendship toward the consul, etc." Departmental State Papers VII, 111, MS. in Bancroft Library.

the head of sixty men. This officer, whom I had the opportunity of seeing at Monterey, has been directed by the government of the United States to explore the country situated between the American territory and the territory of Oregon and California, to seek for shorter and easier routes than those which they [the emigrants] have followed, to bring them from the American frontier into the basins of the Rio Colombia and Rio Sacramento. His mission consisted also in determining the position of the points on which to base some reckonings.

Having arrived at the estate of M. Sutter with his men, he left them to come to Monterey to contract a loan and to obtain permission from the authorities to penetrate into California as far as Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. The Commandant General accorded him a verbal authorization. This took place at the beginning of January. Since then nothing had been learned of him or his troop, when suddenly, toward the end of February, the rumor came that Captain Frémont at the head of sixty armed men was several leagues from Monterey. The people as well as the authorities were excited. They asked explanations of the General, who replied that he had given permission only for M. Frémont accompanied by two servants to explore a part of California. He sent word to Frémont to evacuate the territory immediately, and called to arms the inhabitants of Monterey and its environs. His call was heeded. He left at the head of a hundred men and established his headquarters at San Juan where the militias of Santa Cruz, San José, and San Francisco were to join him. Captain Frémont made camp on a steep hill [Gavilan Peak], entrenched himself there as best he could and announced the intention of defending himself to the last extremity if he were attacked. He displayed the flag of the United States. He claims to have been authorized by the Commandant General to come into the center of California at the head of his troops, considers himself victim of an unjust as well as disloyal attack, and has placed in the care of his government the task of avenging his death and that of his companions, who have resolved to die rather than give up. Thus he wrote to the American Consul who peddled the news around at every door. Everyone was awaiting a struggle which seemed inevitable and which could cost much blood; when it was learned that, in the night following the day when his letter arrived here, Captain Frémont had raised his camp and fled. It was not deemed advisable to pursue him. Where is he now? What is he doing? It is generally thought that he did not go far, and some say that he is awaiting reinforcements which the numerous emigrants arrived at the *St. Sacrement* ought to send him in order to recommence his enterprise with more chances of success—actually nothing positive is known and it would be very difficult to disentangle the truth in the midst of the contradictory and often absurd news that is spread about. I shall not repeat it to Your Excellency lest you be fatigued and bored. I will only ask you to observe that this supports what I had the honor of writing you as to the projects of the government of the Union concerning California. An officer of its army who passes for a capable and intelligent man; who ought to know the extent of the acts which he is doing, is not afraid to venture with armed force on a foreign country and to hoist his nation's flag under the pretext of determining some positions; certainly

there was underneath some hidden intention, some secret instructions of which he has been the agent; for no one can believe that a man of ability and experience, as he, would care to assume the responsibility of so evident a violation of the rights of sovereignty of another nation. Did he intend to conquer California with such meager forces? Clearly not. What he wanted, what those who directed him wanted is, if I may so express myself, to try out the population whose sympathies they thought tended to the Americans; to assure themselves if, in the state of disorder and disorganization into which it had fallen, the sight of the American flag would produce some effect on it and would rally the numerous Americans who live in California. Well! nothing of the sort took place. Not a single Californian went to arms, not a one but showed a profound aversion to the American cause. These manifestations have been so unanimous and so energetic that the compatriots of Captain Frémont have stayed quietly at home and have not dared appear to uphold him. It is a complete failure and ought to prove to foreign governments how wrong are the notions that some are trying to spread of the so-called influence that the Americans are exerting in California.

Will these manifestations stop the Americans in their projects? I think not. Your Excellency has been able to see by the letter from M. Sutter, a copy of which I have had the honor of addressing to you with my despatch of the thirtieth of last November, numbered nine [Document XIV], how numerous were the emigrants who were expected at *St. Sacrement*. One party has already arrived, the others will not be long in coming and so they will go on until, having become strong enough to dominate the people of the country, they give us the second performance of the comedy played in Texas. They talk also of another class of invaders who, though bearing spiritual arms, would not be the less dangerous. It concerns a religious sect which preaches and practices the commonalty of wives and properties. The Mormons, as its adherents are called, already quite strong in the United States, have resolved, by the order of their prophets, for it seems that they have prophets, to march toward California, which has been designated to them as the promised land where they are to develop their belief and multiply their posterity. This invasion, announced for next summer, has thrown fear and anxiety into the minds of the Californians who consider themselves already despoiled by fanatics who, according to the manner in which they are represented, respect neither property nor family. They have a terrible fear of them and are all ready to give themselves up to whomever will deliver them from this plague. They are expecting nothing further from Mexico which is struggling at this time in the convulsions of civil discord and they do not believe themselves strong enough to resist a horde of invaders that is estimated at ten thousand.

What is the truth at the bottom of all this? What part do exaggeration and fear play? I cannot tell Your Excellency. I have believed it my duty to leave you in ignorance of nothing which troubles and agitates this unhappy country, nothing that can disclose the ambitious projects and underhanded intrigues of the Americans.

In the midst of these circumstances, which are not without gravity, the men

who preside over the destiny of California have felt the need of drawing together, of coming to an understanding, of at last putting an end to the ruptures which are compromising the public tranquility and prosperity. Unhappily, the attempts made to this end have miscarried. The Commandant General has invited the Governor and several other influential persons to meet at Monterey; on his part, the Governor asked the Commandant General to join him and the Departmental Assembly which would move to Santa Barbara; but so many causes for mutual defiance exist between these two men that they do not dare to confide in one another and they hold aloof from each other to the detriment of the country. Vague rumors of independence and protection are being circulated. It would be a question of discussing two powers, leaving the United States outside; but all that is so vague that I am ashamed to speak of it to Your Excellency.

In the meantime, the Indians continue to commit depredations. Lately the Utes (*Joutas*) stole seven hundred horses at one time in the environs of Los Angeles.[1] The Indians are very dreadful. They are said to be courageous and enterprising, armed with carabines, well provided with munitions and having in their ranks some of those fearless American hunters as savage as they and not less dangerous.

It is with regret that I am obliged to tell Your Excellency that no French warship has appeared. However one views the situation of this country and the events which are imminent, it would be useful to our interests to have a respectable force on these coasts.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre,

Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul

GASQUET.

XIX.

GASQUET TO GUIZOT, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(Box Monterey; Correspondence Politique de M. Gasquet; Dossier "Dépêches"; Direction Commerciale; Bureau d'Amèrique, No. 11, Primata. Received July 9, 1846; no enclosures found. Ministerial notation: "Wrote to M. Moerenhaut November 30.")

Consulate of France at Monterey

Monterey, March 25, 1846.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor of acknowledging receipt of the Royal Ordinance dated the twenty-sixth of April, 1845, which modifies essentially the consular service. According to the requirements of your Circular of the following June twentieth, it should have been registered in the Chancery of the Consulate if a Chancery had been organized here. But in the absence of the incumbent [Gasquet was merely the acting or ad-interim consul] and fearing lest that what I might do

[1] Respecting the depredations of horse thief Indians in Southern California during this period see Lawrence, Eleanor, "Horse Thieves on the Spanish Trail," *Touring Topics*, January, 1931.

[in this connection] would not receive his approval, I thought it my duty to leave this organization in suspense.

I have also received the message which you did me the honor of addressing to me under date of the sixth of June [Document VII] in which you so kindly advised me that, by ordinance of the twenty-sixth of April, the King named M. Moerenhaut Consul of Second Class at Monterey. In accordance with your will I shall turn over the office to him in the manner prescribed by the rules.[1]

I have the honor of enclosing with my letter the duplicate of a letter which I addressed from Mexico to Your Excellency on the twenty-seventh of September, 1844 [Document VI]. This letter brought to you, Monsieur le Ministre, my resignation from the duties of Chancellor which you have been so kind as to confide to me. I have no new reasons for modifying or changing my resolve. I beg Your Excellency not to be displeased, that, on the contrary, I persist in it the more strongly. I entreat that I be accorded a sum of ten thousand francs which will be necessary to effect my return to France. A refusal would condemn me to die in exile, far from family affections and in the most complete destitution. Such could not be the intention of Your Excellency.

I have the honor of being with the deepest respect, Monsieur le Ministre, Your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

The Acting Consul,
GASQUET.

[To be continued.]

[1] Moerenhaut's appointment was sent to him on June 6, 1845. Minute of Minister's letter to Moerenhaut, Direction Commerciale Bureau d'Amerique et des Indes, No. 1. Box Monterey: Minutes. This will be published in Part II of these Documents.

CRESCENT CITY ON THE TUOLUMNE

A Prophecy that Failed

On the 4th of May, 1849, Mr. Edward S. Townsend of Trenton, New Jersey, accompanied by his son, Sidney, two nephews, Henry Townsend and Henry E. Perrine, and several other young men, left New York in the *Susan E. Owens,* bound around the Horn for California. The ship had been purchased by Mr. Townsend and the company he had organized. Gold mining was not the object of the expedition, but to invest in such business ventures as they should find promising. The manufacture of lumber was one intention, for which a saw-mill and other machinery were provided. Mr. Townsend left the ship at the Isthmus of Panama, intending to proceed at once up the coast; but being detained twenty-two days waiting for a steamer, he arrived in San Francisco only three days in advance of his party. After standing off and on in the fog for several days, the ship at last entered the harbor on October 12.

Which was the first undertaking of the company the scanty records do not show. Of Mr. Townsend's many letters written to his large family in the east only four have escaped destruction. These were written to a young invalid daughter who died a few years later. The loss of his correspondence is much to be regretted, for he was a highly intelligent, college-bred man who crowded many interesting enterprises in the thirteen months he spent in California.

Very early in 1850 the founding of a new town engaged his attention and to this undertaking the most important of his surviving letters is devoted. It was evidently the enterprise nearest his heart and his enthusiasm makes pathetic and curious reading now in the face of the non-survival in the locality of even the name of the place. It came into being as Crescent City (not to be confounded with the Crescent City of Del Norte County) and may be located on Charles Drayton Gibbes' Map of the Gold Regions, first published in Stockton in 1851. The latest map on which it has been found is George H. Baker's Map of the Mining Region, 1855. There it appears as simply Crescent.

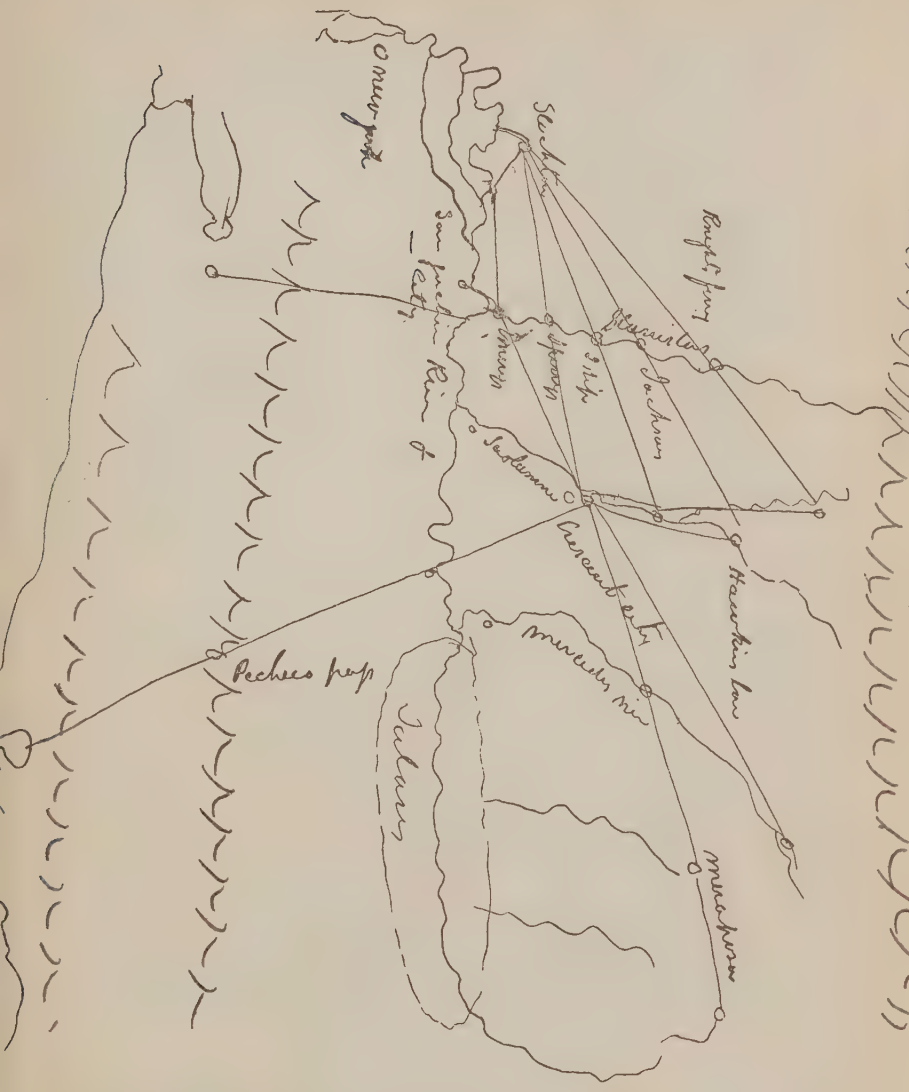
However short-lived, Crescent City deserves a record, and Mr. Townsend's descriptive letter is given in full except for the omission of a few family matters.

San Joachin City, California, April 21, 1850.

My Dear Isabella:

I have been up to Crescent City and have come down here in company with Sidney and Ed Hart on mules and am waiting for the boat, to return with her to San Francisco. I came across the plain thirty-five miles and the boat comes round fifty-five and there are head winds. I wait longer than I expected. Here Sidney located temporarily before laying the foundation of the city above on the Tuolumne. This town does not prosper. It is on a high bank of the river surrounded with plains, on the east side of the middle range of mountains, and in high water the low places are filled with water which is now the case, and egress or ingress are impossible unless you come in by water. We left our mules on the Stanislaus, five miles up, and came here in a boat. This place is three miles below the mouth of the Stanislaus on the San Joachim.

Crescent City is a beautiful location right at the edge of the gold field and in all respects as I could wish it to be. Very many of those who bought lots have been there and invariably, without a single exception, all are pleased and many have



bargained for more lots. The town is at the head of navigation. A rocky bar crosses the river at the upper end of the town plot, and there the water falls into the basin of the San Joachim valley and no more rapids. From there [down] the bed of the river is sand; above there, rocky. Then the hills which are the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains begin, and we have good hard roads, summer and winter, to the mines. Within one half mile of the city are gold deposits in the river and this summer digging gold will be done there. Already many come there for goods and it is the only near point accessible by water to the gold field, but it is such a

centre of travel and trade and so beautiful and healthy as to insure a big city. The site of the city is a beautiful plain dotted with oaks, rising in a mile forty feet gentle ascent. The river winds around it and on the opposite side are oaks and willows on the margin, skirted behind by a green bluff of grass and flowers, rising fifty to seventy-five feet in a half mile. Beautiful to the eye is the location of Crescent City and desirable for habitation, for its healthfulness and cool, pure crystal waters. The plains are covered with a carpet of grass interspersed with such profusion of flowers and variety of form and color as to give a hue of blue, yellow or red, nearly annihilating the green, and of such delicate shades and graceful forms as to render uninteresting and worthless the collections of your best greenhouses at home. Here roam the fleet antelopes, the bounding deer, the more clumsy elk and the wild mustang horses in countless herds. In the pure water of the river, of such transparent clearness, are myriads of salmon and other delicate fish. So Nature in her bounty has prepared all pleasant for the eye, and the sustenance and comfort of man. I have no doubt that here will rise a city which will be world-famous for its size and importance. So you may remember my prediction for the town named Crescent City, Tuolumne River, California.

A Mr. Jenkins and his wife, first settlers, were there at the commencement of the survey of the plot and Mrs. Jenkins, being the first female in the town, drove the first and centre stake for laying out the town. When I left, a Mr. Flint and James Kennedy were surveying it at twelve dollars per day and boarded.

Yesterday at 10, Sid, Hart and I crossed the river and mounted on three good mules passed over Dry Creek by fording and then to the Stanislaus and ford and then down its banks four miles to a ranch, thence a boat here, in good health and happy to be together and by ourselves, to talk of home.

To-day is Sunday. I am lonely and while Hart and Sid are out fixing for a move up the river to-morrow with horses and goods which lie here, which the *Fanny* is coming down for to-night, I steal away to a tent and write this to you, for when I get home to San Francisco I shall have no leisure.

The health of all is very good and everything looks prosperous.

I have sent maps before of this country, but now that I have been through it, I must send another, corrected and improved. [See cut on page 359.]

April 23rd.—I am at last in Stockton. I came here last night. Stopped all night at a hotel kept by Hall who used to keep the Eagle at Rochester [N. Y.] and then the Parker House in San Francisco and then after it was burned came here. We fare here very well. The steamer *Mint* leaves at seven and I go down in it to San Francisco. I am up at five and so devote a half-hour to a letter.

This place is of considerable size but lies so very low and is so surrounded by sloughs of water as to spoil it. It was begun in early days before the country was explored and is not the most direct route, or central point, for supplies for the gold field. I find them very sore towards our new city and well they may be, for it will divert three quarters of its business in a year or so.

The dry season is now in earnest with us. You would expect the rivers to fall. It is not so. The snow is now melting and the rivers from the mountains will be much higher and will continue so until June when they will recede and in August, September and October be at their lowest. Then the miners in the beds of rivers commence their operations.

When at Crescent City you come up on the bluff to Isabella street, as you face the southeast, the lofty peaks of the Sierra Nevada covered with snow lie stretching off north and south as far as the eye can reach. On your right rises the middle range, Mount Diablo and Mount Isabel the crowning point of the ridge, while seventy-five miles of beautiful plain intervenes, and numerous rivers. This is truly a great country destined to be densely populated and rich beyond calculation.

Your ever affectionate and loving father,

E. S. Townsend.

"Isabella Street" of Crescent City and "Mount Isabel" adjoining Mount Diablo, probably received their names from Mr. Townsend. He used Isabella and Isabel indiscriminately in addressing his daughter. The next letter is to "Isabel." It was written from San Francisco on the Fourth of July.

I sent you by Sid [his son] a Chinese card-case, carved from ivory. The Chinese are a persevering, untiring race or they would never have the patience to do such work. They call them here the Yankees of the Pacific, they are so ingenious and industrious and, as a general character for those who are here (and there are a great many of them) they are a very sober and well-behaved people. In the card-case I put a gold coin for your use, not to keep but for pocket-money. There's lots of ice-cream and candy in it. . . .

> To-day is the Fourth of July, and the Chinese, the Greasers, the Yankees, the Botany-Bay gentry, the Kanakas, the Chilians, the Peruvians, the Malayans, the Oregon men, the French, English, Dutch, Irish, Mexicans—all are out to-day on a jollification, while Dr. May and I with Henry Perrine [his nephew] keep housed. They have a Liberty pole to raise here to-day, sent from the city of Portland, Oregon, as a present to the town of San Francisco. It is a tree in one piece, one hundred and nine feet and nine inches long, straight as a line, twelve inches in diameter at one end and three inches at the other. It is Oregon pine and a great curiosity. I hope no one will get hurt with it.
>
> The burnt district is again being rebuilt. . . . In a few cases of durable brick and fire-proof.
>
> Every day there yet come large ships laden with goods and people. Most emigrants are from Sydney or Port Phillips in New South Wales. We get excellent potatoes now from these last-named places, as fine as at home; watermelon and pears from Chili and the islands. All vegetables are here, but are very high in price. Green peas, lettuce, cucumbers, cabbage, squash, beets, turnips and radishes and tomatoes are grown here and in the market now. I board now for twelve dollars per week and have my own bed and room, which costs me twenty-five dollars per month. I mention these things so that you may know how things go here.

He does not mention Crescent City in this letter, but the surrounding landscape is still in his mind.

> . . . You would like to be in this country, I know, if you were well. There are such beautiful flowers, such magnificent mountains, such lovely valleys, such gentle affectionate pets, young antelopes and fawns, such fleet horses and these mules, so safe for a girl to ride, and such lovely smooth, level roads—I know you would like it.

In the third letter, written in October from San Francisco, he says:

> This is a place of great variableness of temperature; not so at Empire City, at San Jose or at Guadaloupe. There the temperature is uniform. This is to be a home for some of us for a few years. We have many chances here for making money and much valuable property to look after. Would you not be delighted to visit this land and see these high mountains, some so grand and solemn and others beautiful, then such beautiful meadows with their superb flowers, such sheltered and quiet valleys, and such innocent antelopes, deer and elk, and those huge grizzly bears and noisy coyotes, and birds innumerable. If I were twenty years younger, I would like to range here for ten years.

Mr. Townsend does not again mention Crescent City. The sudden shift to Empire City, grouped with other places in which he was financially interested, ("Townsend's Ranch," near San José and the Guadalupe quicksilver mines which he had leased) seems to indicate that his interests might have changed, especially as his nephew, Henry E. Perrine, at about this date in his memoirs,* mentions Empire City. He says:

"My cousin, Henry Townsend, who was with me, started for Empire City, a place which had been laid out at the head of navigation on the Tuolumne river." Crescent City was also "at the head of navigation on the Tuolumne"; but on the northern bank while Empire City was nearly opposite on the southern. Although both towns were founded in 1850, Crescent City was probably the older, as Mr. Townsend in his April letter writes of it as "a center of travel and trade" and adds "Already many are coming here for goods."

Mr. Sol. Elias in his *Stories of Stanislaus* says that Empire City was founded in 1850 by John G. Marvin, a lawyer from Boston who was the first Superintendent of Public Instruction of California and quartermaster and commissary of the Indian war department under Major Savage of the western division of the United States army. Mr. Elias says:

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*A copy of *A True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life*, by Henry E. Perrine (privately printed in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1885) is to be found in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society.

> At the head of a private company he claimed and surveyed the town lots. . . . the head of navigation, in 1851, it was made an army supply station, the supplies being transported from San Francisco by way of the San Joaquin and Tuolumne rivers to Empire City and from there conveyed overland to the various forts in the mountains. . . . In this year [1851] the town contained three stores, one three-story hotel of twenty-four rooms, two boarding houses, a blacksmith's shop, and a shop for repair of harnesses, saddles and wagons. . . . and wild flowers covered the plains beyond, the grassy, oak-shaded banks of the river were lively with men receiving and discharging freight and passengers. . . . elk, deer and antelope roamed the plains in abundance, while the dismal bark of the coyote and the growl of the grizzly bear were not infrequently heard.[1]

With its more influential backing and as an army supply station, Mr. Marvin's town probably forged ahead of Crescent City and became the more important. But "disastrous floods in 1852 and 1853," Mr. Elias says, "played havoc with Empire City and washed away almost every vestige of activity." As the head of navigation for a time, the town later acquired a small population which increased when, in 1854, it became the county seat. This honor, however, was retained only a year and the town never recovered its former prestige. Almost the only trace of it that remains is the old court house, probably once a residence and now utilized as a barn. The site is about two miles from the present town of Empire.

Mr. Townsend had seen in Crescent City the realization of his dream, but the rival city hindered, perhaps stopped, its growth and both towns probably received their death blow when the volume of water in the Tuolumne was no longer sufficient for boats to go so far up the river.

In November, 1850, Mr. Townsend went back to his eastern home and never returned to California. Mr. Perrine in his memoirs says of him:

> My uncle was one of the kindest men I have ever met; a delightful companion at all times, with a mind well stored with useful knowledge. He was fitted to adorn any station in society. Seldom depressed by failure, his active brain was constantly employed in seeking for new avenues to fortune, in which we were all to share if success should crown his efforts. It is due to his memory to say that of the various schemes which he originated in those days which were not then successful three, at least, have proved his sound judgment after many days, and others have reaped the benefit which ought to have been his.

Of one of these enterprises, mining quicksilver in the San Juan Bautista hills, Mr. Perrine wrote:

> A little rich ore was obtained, but not a twentieth part enough to pay the expense of over ten thousand dollars which had been invested. . . . It is well, however, to note . . . how near one may be to a fortune and yet miss it. Twenty-five years later I read an account in a California paper of certain holes having been discovered in those very hills, supposed to have been worked by Mexicans many years before; and that parties had followed up traces of cinnabar found therein and had already gotten several hundred tons of the valuable ore from the same holes which our men had opened in 1850.[2]

[1] Elias, Sol. P., *Stories of Stanislaus,* Modesto, Cal. [1924], pp. 252-53.

The Guadalupe mines, among the richest quicksilver mines in the world, were leased by Mr. Townsend and worked under his direction for a few months. In the hands of later operators the Guadalupe mines have produced a total recorded output of over a hundred and fifty thousand flasks.[3]

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

[2] Perrine, Henry E., *A True Story of Some Eventful Years in Grandpa's Life,* p. 151. These mines were situated "about two miles southeast of San Jose, on the east slope of the San Juan Bautista Hills," according to *Quicksilver Resources of California,* Bulletin 78, issued by the State Mining Bureau.

[3] These figures are taken from the recorded output to 1917 as given in *Quicksilver Resources of California,* State Mining Bureau Bulletin No. 78, plus the report of a later lessee.

EARLY SAN FRANCISCO IN COLORED PRINTS

COLORED lithographs of early San Francisco are the prized possessions of collectors of Californiana, and often bring prices which are beyond the reach of most such collectors. For example, the McMurtrie view, published in 1850 by N. Currier, has a record of more than $750, and within the past few months a local dealer disposed of a copy of this view for a price of more than $400.

As the result of a generous offer by the American Trust Company, of San Francisco, the members of this Society are to be given an opportunity to obtain finely printed reproductions of fourteen such early views, in full color. At a cost of many thousand dollars, that company recently procured the plates from which to print these views, and has given to the Society two hundred sets for distribution among its members. The Society will sell them to its members at a small fraction of their value on the market, the proceeds to go into the Special Publication Fund, thus making it possible for those who have longed to possess them to own a set of these delightful reproductions at perhaps a tenth of their actual cost, and at the same time affording to the Society a means of developing its important Publication Fund. Some idea of the beauty of these colored reproductions may be obtained from the one which is here printed.

A set of the fourteen views may be purchased (postage prepaid) for the sum of $2.50. Since but 200 sets are available, orders will be received from members only, with a limit of five sets to any one member. An order blank is enclosed in this number of the *Quarterly,* and the 200 sets will be disposed of in the order of receipt of such orders. The prints are all on good paper, and are suitable for framing. A list of the fourteen reproductions follows:

1. View of the Town and Harbour of San Francisco, California, from the Signal Hill (Telegraph Hill), after a sketch by Captain Collinson, R.E. London, published November 12, 1851, by Ackermann & Co. (15x25¼ in.)*
2. San-Francisco, 1849. Drawn by Henry Firks for W. H. Jones, Esq., of San-Francisco, U.C. Lithographed by Endicott & Co., New York, 1849. (13½x 25¼ in.)
3. San Francisco. Drawn by S. F. Marryatt. London, published July 1, 1851, by Henry Squire & Co. (17½x22¾ in.)
4. View of San Francisco, California, taken from Telegraph Hill, April 1850, by Wm. B. McMurtrie. Published by N. Currier. (17½x26 in.)
5. View of the City of San Francisco, California. (1851.) Taken from the western hill at the at the foot of Telegraph Hill looking toward Rincon Point and Mission Valley. Drawn by Henry Bainbridge & Geo. W. Casilear. Published by Geo. W. Casilear, New York City, and by Atwill, San Francisco, California. Reproduced in color in a smaller format and with slight changes from the original. (9¾x11¼ in.)

*The sizes given include the margins.

6. View of Montgomery Street, near the foot of Washington Street, San Francisco, California. (1851.) (9¾x11 in.)

7. Yerba Buena (now San Francisco) in the Spring of 1837. From a drawing by John J. Vioget, lithographed by Britton & Rey, San Francisco. (12x14 in.)

8. The Plaza, San Francisco, 1849. From Ryan's *Adventures in California.* (11¾x14 in.)

9. A fantastic view of California Street hill, looking west from about Kearny Street. (12¼x14 in.)

10. The Port of San Francisco, June 1, 1849. Drawn by Geo. H. Baker and published in the *New York Tribune* of August 28, 1849. A reduced facsimile in color. (12½x14 in.)

11. A reduced facsimile in color of the Le Breton print of the Plaza, 1850. (11½x14 in.)

12. Vista de San Francisco de California, 1848. Michaud Thomas, Mexico. 19½x23 in.)

13. View of that portion of the City of San Francisco seen from the residence of N. Larco Esqre, Green Street, Telegraph Hill, looking south, 1859. Published by F. R. Reynolds, office at Kuchel & Dresel, lithographers, San Francisco. Drawn from nature by E. Camerer. (19x26 in.)

    The artist who first redrew the picture for reproduction took some liberties with the foreground, which is quite different from the original. The border of business houses in San Francisco at the time of its publication c. 1860) gives to this picture a permanent interest. Space does not permit the identification of the various buildings represented. A reference to the Directories of the early 60's would give the location of the various business houses.

14. Conclave of Knights Templar, San Francisco, 1883. (19¼x25¼ in.)

    The parade is turning into Market Street from Montgomery Street, and marching west. The old Masonic Temple, northwest corner of Post and Montgomery Streets, is shown in the picture. The triumphal arches were erected for the occasion. The small building at the right of the picture houses the Hibernia Bank. Both the Palace Hotel and the Grand Hotel are shown.

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE desires to call the attention of members of the Society to the Special Publications which are listed on the inside back cover of this *Quarterly*.

We suggest these publications as gifts to any person interested in the development of the West. Orders received before Christmas will be promptly filled.

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COURT BLOCK
WATCHES & DIAMONDS
PULU

Derby's Map of the Lower Reaches of the Colorado River

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT GEORGE H. DERBY

III

REPORT ON A RECONNOISSANCE OF THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA AND THE COLORADO RIVER, 1850-51*

Colonel Hooker's Orders to Lieutenant Derby

Headquarters, Third Division,
Sonoma, October 11, 1850

Sir:

The schooner *Invincible* is to be despatched by the chief assistant quartermaster of the division to attempt the entrance of the river Colorado from the Gulf of California, and the ascent of the river as far as the post to be established near the junction of the Gila, with a view to establish that as a route of supply.

As this will afford a good opportunity of determining with accuracy many points in the geography of that part of the country of great future consequence, you will proceed to San Diego to embark in the vessel that may be sent on that service.

You will fix by observations and deductions as far as possible all of the points about the head of the Gulf of California important to the navigation of the Colorado. You will record the soundings when they may have been procured, especially at the entrance of the river and in its course upward. You will also ascertain as far as practicable the rise and fall of the tide, and the time of high water at the full and change of the moon at the mouth of the river. Likewise record the character and topography of the country at the head of the gulf and the river, as far as falls within your observation, and make a sketch of all the coast and shores in that neighborhood; and procure all such other information as may be of use to the service and the public generally.

The principal object of the expedition is to open a route of transportation by water to the mouth of the Gila, for the supply of the post to be established there. There are no means for an accurate or extensive survey, but the opportunity of gathering much useful information must not be lost, and a skilful and industrious officer is needed for that purpose. But your movements must be subordinate to those of the vessel, and her principal object must never be abandoned for the sake of even the most interesting results not connected with it.

Instructions will be given, however, to the quartermaster's department, that

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* "Report of the Expedition of the United States Transport 'Invincible,' (Capt. A. H. Wilcox,) made by order of Major General P. F. Smith, commanding Pacific division, to the Gulf of California and river Colorado, during the months of November, December, January, February and March, 1850 and 1851, by Geo. H. Derby, Brevet 1st Lieut., Topographical Engineers," printed in Senate Executive Document No. 81, 32d Congress, 1st Session, 1852, (Report of the Secretary of War), pp. 1-28, accompanied by map.

will insure every assistance and coöperation that can be furnished without detriment to the main end in view.

As no military escort can be furnished, no risk will be run in those sections infested by hostile Indians.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. Hooker,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Lieut. G. H. Derby,
Topographical Engineers, Sonoma.

Lieutenant Derby's Report

Sonoma, California,
March 31, 1851

Colonel:

In compliance with your instructions I left Sonoma, arriving at Benicia on the 12th of October, ultimo, where I had an interview with Major Robert Allen, the chief quartermaster of the division, who supplied me with funds for any necessary expenditure that might occur during the expedition.

I proceeded to San Francisco on the 13th, intending to take passage immediately for San Diego, but finding that there was no steamer to sail upon the 15th, and there being no other method of transportation available, I was compelled to remain until the arrival of the schooner *Invincible,* which took place on the 31st.

I had taken from the topographical office at division headquarters, one chronometer, (Bliss & Creighton, No. 1468,) two sextants, and two Schmalcalder's compasses, and was accompanied by Mr. Walter H. Ferrier, a young gentleman who had been employed to assist me in making astronomical observations, and in such surveys as might be practicable. I embraced the opportunity of the unavoidable delay at San Francisco to have my sextants thoroughly adjusted, and placed my chronometer with Captain Alexander Frazer, of the revenue service, who had established an observatory at Rincon Point for rating those instruments. He discovered in a few days that it was working very irregularly, owing to some internal derangement, and I was obliged to have it removed and repaired. As I had no time to have it satisfactorily rated after its repair, and had an opportunity to procure an excellent instrument at a reasonable price, I purchased chronometer No. 1430, Parkinson and Frodsham, which has performed with the most satisfactory results during the expedition.

The transport *Invincible,* Captain A. H. Wilcox, which had been designated for the service, is a top-sail schooner of 120 tons burden, and draws when light between eight and nine feet water. She had a crew of nine seamen, cook, steward and two mates, and was supplied with provisions for a four months' cruise. An old iron twelve-pounder carronade (captured from the Mexicans at Tabasco) and six muskets with flint locks comprised the extent of her armament.

Everything being ready for our departure, we sailed from San Francisco on

the 1st November with a fine breeze from the northwest, before which we rapidly ran down the coast, and passing the island of Santa Barbara upon the 2d, and St. Clements upon the 3d, we came to anchor upon the 4th at 11 a. m., off the beach or "Plaza" of San Diego. Here the vessel was detained until the 15th discharging cargo, taking in ballast and repairing her copper, during which interval I obtained a copy of Imray's chart of the Gulf of California and Lieutent Hardy's "Travels in Mexico," which last, though very inaccurate in many important points, was nevertheless of much assistance to us in the navigation of the river.[44] I had a conversation also with Colonel Williams,[45] an old and well known resident of Los Angelos, who stated that he had explored the banks of the Colorado nearly to its entrance into the gulf, and gave me such fearful accounts of the ferocity of the Indians inhabiting the country in the vicinity of the river, that I applied to Lieutenant Colonel Magruder, commanding the light battery stationed at San Diego, for some addition to our armament, which, however, he was unable to supply. Having received on board ten thousand rations for the command stationed at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, we sailed from San Diego on the afternoon of the 15th, and on the 17th passed the island of Guadaloupe, situated in latitude 29° 20′.

This island is about fifteen miles in length and five in width. It is rocky and mountainous, but covered with vegetation, and is represented to be thickly inhabited by wild goats of unusual size. Water is found upon the eastern shore, and the island is frequently visited by small vessels engaged in the capture of the sea-elephant, numbers of which animals are found upon its coast. As we passed it at a distance of thirty miles, I was unable to make a sketch of its outline. On the 19th we passed the Alijos rocks, bearing S.S.W. and distant about ten miles. This remarkable reef, first discovered in 1710, is about four miles in length, the highest rock being about 110 feet above the surface. Its general direction is N.E. and S.W. The entire reef is so thickly covered with guano that we found it impossible to form any conjecture as to its geological character. The surf dashing over it in a high sea is a magnificent spectacle when beheld at a safe distance, but the vigias surrounding would render a close view dangerous. I believe no one has ever attempted a landing. The wind continuing favorable, we made the southern extremity of the peninsula of California upon the 22d at noon, Cape Falso bearing N. by W. and Cape St. Lucas N.E. by E. at about fifteen miles distance. The land is high, bold and in the vicinity of the capes, mountainous. The white chalky cliffs which may be seen at a great distance render the coast easy of recognition.

We ran into the little harbor of Cape St. Lucas on the 23d, anchoring in sixteen fathoms water, within a cable's length of the shore. The harbor is but two miles in width, protected from the southeast by a high rocky bluff, but perfectly exposed to the north and west. It is an extremely dangerous anchorage, as a heavy surf is continually rolling in, and no bottom is found at a hundred fathoms, until close into the beach.

The wreck of the brig *Friendship* was lying upon the shore, which vessel was

beached here three or four months before our arrival. We landed through the surf and walked up to the mission, situated in a little valley a mile from the beach, and consisting of some eight or ten adobe houses thatched with straw. The valley appeared to have been under cultivation, but the inhabitants had nearly all left for the interior to avoid the cholera then raging upon the coast. I observed here a fine herd of cattle, and many pigs, goats and fowls. The number of inhabitants I was informed was about fifty. With the exception of the little valley under cultivation, which is watered by a small stream running from the hills and emptying into the sea at this point, the country is mountainous and sterile, and covered with various species of cacti, which grow to an immense size. Returning to the vessel I noticed upon the beach a large *copper* anchor weighing probably eighteen hundred weight; it was evidently a vestige of antiquity, being singularly shaped, with a remarkable long shank and narrow flukes. I was informed by an American resident of the place (Mr. Wilks) [sic] that it was fished up in the harbor three or four years ago. It was probably lost here by some of the early Spanish explorers of California. Leaving Cape St. Lucas with the evening land breeze, we passed Cape Palmo on the 24th, bearing west about thirty miles distant, and on the 25th at noon passed within ten miles of the small island of San Ignacio in latitude 23° 39′ 30″. This island, situated on the eastern side of the gulf, is a barren rock, and entirely uninhabited; it is about five miles long and two or three in width.

We experienced a heavy gale from the S. W. commencing on the 26th, which gradually wore round to the N. W. and brought us off the entrance to the harbor of Guyamas [sic] on the 28th. We succeeded in entering the harbor on the 29th, where we anchored in four and a half fathoms water, with the intention of remaining a few days to obtain the rates of the chronometers, and take in a supply of water and fresh provisions. I hoped also to obtain some information regarding the navigation of the gulf, from the residents of Guyamas engaged in the pearl fishery, and other persons likely to be acquainted with it.

The harbor of Guyamas is one of the best upon the coast; it is perfectly land locked and protected by its numerous islands from every quarter. It has been so often and so well surveyed, that it is unnecessary for me to enter into a minute description of its merits. It is to be regretted, however, that it has not more water, from four to five fathoms being the average depth, which is insufficient for a ship of the line, or even a first class frigate. We found Guyamas a dirty place, with a dirty population of about 1,500 or 2,000. The houses being built of adobe with the roofs sloping towards the interior, have a very unfinished appearance, and from the harbor the town presents the appearance of having been abandoned when half built. There are two small piers in a ruined condition; and near the landing a large pile of earth, surmounted by two or three crumbling walls, over which floats from a lofty staff the flag of Mexico, marks the site of the adobe fort knocked down by the guns of the *Dale* during the late war.[46] There are several wealthy individuals in Guyamas, who monopolize the whole of the business with the interior of Sonora, but the mass of the population

are in a state of wretched poverty. One or two small vessels from San Francisco were lying in the harbor, the proprietors of which had purchased everything in the shape of fresh provisions to be obtained. Sheep in large numbers they had purchased from the interior of Sonora with the intention of landing them at Molexe, on the California coast, thence driving them overland to San Francisco. Fowls, turkeys, ducks, goats, everything that could be purchased for one real and sold for twenty had disappeared, causing us no little difficulty in obtaining fresh provisions, even at comparatively high prices. The water at Guyamas is obtained from wells, and is slightly brackish. Excellent oysters are brought from the river Yaqui, which empties into the bay about twenty miles south of the town, and sold to the shipping at a dollar a bushel; the Mexicans, however, make no use of them. We found the cholera raging at Guyamas on our arrival, many deaths occurring daily. It appeared to be confined to the native population entirely, which, considering their dirty habits and mode of living, was by no means to be wondered at. Dr. W. L. White, an excellent physician from San Francisco, had recently arrived, and was engaged in a very successful practice. We obtained from him such medicines as were deemed necessary under the circumstances, but fortunately had no occasion to use them. I commenced a series of daily observations upon one of the small islands in the harbor, for the rates of the chronometers, which we succeeded in ascertaining with accuracy.

Immediately upon our arrival I called upon the American consul, Mr. John Robinson, who treated us with civility, and M. Cubillas, the consul of France, who received us with great attention and hospitality, and took much interest in the expedition. I also visited Mr. Thomas Spence, an old English resident, who was the agent of Lieutenant Hardy for the purchase of the "Bruja" for his expedition in 1829 [1826], and who had frequently made trips towards the head of the gulf himself, though never going far north of the island of Tiburon. He very kindly gave me all the information in his power in regard to the navigation of the gulf and the small harbors upon the coast north of Guyamas. All of these gentlemen united in saying that the country near the head of the gulf and bordering the river Colorado was inhabited by hostile Indians, from whom we might expect much trouble! and on becoming acquainted with the weakness of our armament, strenuously advised an increase of that and in the number of our crew. I therefore purchased from the captain of a Spanish schooner lying in the harbor two small swivels and eight carbines, with the necessary ammunition, and the captain engaged three additional seamen, increasing the number of our crew to twelve. This force I deemed sufficient for any emergency that might arise.

The time of high water at "full and change" of the moon at Guyamas is not very accurately determined; it is, however, between 8 and 9 a. m. The ordinary rise of spring tides is six feet, neap tides four feet. The phenomena of four tides in twenty-four hours has repeatedly occurred here, as I am credibly informed. The prevailing winds in May, June and July are from the southeast and southwest. The thermometer during the summer months ranges from 92° to 98° Fahrenheit, the maximum 110°; during winter from 56° to 60°, mini-

mum 45°. Guyamas is in latitude 27° 54′ N., longitude 110° 49′ 10″ W.

We sailed from Guyamas on Friday, the 6th December, and for three days experienced a very heavy gale from the northeast, against which the vessel struggled under double-reefed sails without making much progress to the northward. We passed the small islands of Rolasco, situated about twenty miles west of Guyamas, on the 6th, and on the 7th were within ten miles of the island of Tortuga, bearing from us S. ½° W. This island is about six miles in length, and like most others in the gulf appears rocky, barren, and uninhabited by animals.

The violence of the wind abated on the 8th, and on the 9th we found ourselves off the large bay represented on the chart as lying between capes Trinidad and San Miguel, on the California shore. Here we observed with glasses a very extensive plain, covered with cactus. On the 10th we passed the island of "San Juan Pedro Martyr," the longitude of which we determined to be 111° 54′. The island is a barren rock, about five miles long, situated nearly in the middle of the gulf. Far beyond, to the northeast, we saw the rugged outline of the celebrated island of Tiburon. This island has long been known as the abode of the Ceres Indians, a small tribe of about five hundred, who are represented as extremely hostile, and invariably opposing any attempt at landing; they are said to be armed with poisoned arrows. A rich bed of pearl oysters is said to exist between this island and the coast of Sonora, and there are accounts of rich gold mines upon the island; but as no one is ever known to have landed there, it is difficult to understand how the fact was ascertained. We should have landed and attempted an examination of the island, but the wind being contrary compelled us to lay over to the California shore, and we passed it in the night.

On the 11th we passed the island of San Estavan, which presents an exceedingly wild and sterile appearance, resembling the generality of the gulf coast on the California side. The appearance of the water between this island and that of San Lorento led us to suppose that we were on soundings, but on trying the deep sea lead we found no bottom at one hundred fathoms.

On the 12th we passed near three small islands (to the south of the large island of Los Angelos,) which are not put down on the chart, and of which we had no previous information. They are composed of coarse clay slate, colored trap, and trap tuffa, and covered with cacti. Immense quantities of seals are found upon these, as well as most of the other islands in the gulf. I named this group "Allen's Islands," as a compliment to Major Robert Allen, chief quartermaster of the Division. The longitude of the group is about 112° 40′ W., latitude 28° 55′ N., and the soundings in the vicinity from four to seventeen fathoms.

Angelos island, which we passed on the 12th, is separated from the California shore by Whale's channel, which is about ten or fifteen miles wide. The island is about thirty miles in length, mountainous, rocky, and uninhabited. It lies between 29° 10′ and 29° 50′ N., and in longitude about 113° W.

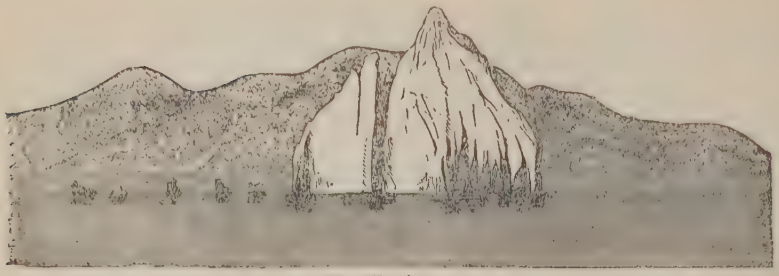
We had received information in Guyamas of a small bay somewhere upon

Angeles Bay.

the California coast, in this vicinity, where fresh water could be obtained, and on the 13th, having rounded the northern extremity of Angeles island, we ran before the wind down Whale's channel, (where we observed a southerly current of about three miles per hour,) in search of it.

We discovered a large island lying close to the California shore, off the southern extremity of Angeles island, in latitude 29° 3′, longitude 112° 59′ W., which, not being put down upon any chart, I named Smith's island, in compliment to the general commanding, by whose order the expedition was undertaken.[47]

This island is about a mile north of Angeles bay, which we found and entered on the 14th. This is a small indentation in the coast, about four miles in width, slightly open to the eastward, with a sandy bottom, in about ten fathoms water. The adjacent country is extremely wild and rugged. The hills are covered with huge boulders, which are coarsely aggregated masses of quartz, mica, and feldspar, and I noticed several isolated blocks of grey granite and sienite. There are three springs of slightly brackish water at the foot of the highest hill, and a bed of most excellent oysters is exposed at low tide. The



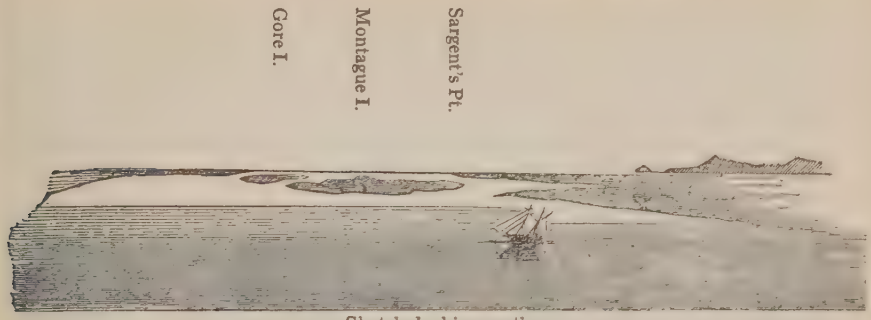
Ship Rock.*

water may be found by noticing the reeds which grow about it, and which are the only green things to be seen in the vicinity.

The deep and rugged channels running down the sides of the mountains, and the immense pile of boulders forming their sides, would seem to indicate that at certain seasons of the year great quantities of water must fall here; but at the time of our visit everything appeared dry and parched. There are many varieties of cactus in the vicinity, but no nourishing herbs or grasses, and we saw no traces of game, but a few tracks of coyotes and wild goats near the spring. The bay is probably well known to the people inhabiting the interior, as we found many traces of old encampments, piles of oyster shells, heaps of ashes, and many mule-tracks leading to the southward. There are plenty of turtle in the harbor, but we did not succeed in taking any. The sketch will give an idea of the character and topography of the bay, though by no means the result of an accurate survey.

We remained at Angeles bay until the 18th, when, having filled our water-casks, we weighed anchor and stood out from our anchorage into Whale's channel. It being low tide we noticed several sunken rocks at the entrance, which we had not perceived on coming in. The rise and fall at Angeles bay is about fifteen feet. Its longitude is 113° 25′ 30″ W., latitude 29° 5′ N. We had rain on the 19th in squalls, and on the 20th a gale from the northwest, against which we steadily beat up for the head of the gulf. On the 21st we sounded when about five miles from the California shore, and found the depth from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the 22d we passed within four miles of a very remarkable rock, which at a distance has the appearance of a ship with all sail set. I named it the "Ship rock," but am inclined to think it identical with Hardy's "Clarence island," although twenty miles to the westward of the position which he lays down. We sailed over the latitude and longitude of his Clarence island, but saw nothing of it. The Ship rock is apparently a mile in circumference, about two hundred feet in height, and perfectly white with guano. We sounded continually on the 22d, and found a depth of twenty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. In the afternoon we observed a column of smoke in the dis-

* This is one of a series of thirteen drawings in the original report, four of which are here reproduced.



Sketch, looking south.

tance, bearing N. 60° W., which we afterwards ascertained to be caused by the Indians burning the reeds on the river Colorado. On the 23d the land was plainly discernible on both coasts of the gulf; on the California side bold and mountainous, but on the Mexican low and sandy. Sounding continually, we found but about thirteen fathoms water, and we noticed constantly masses of reeds, trunks of trees, &c., floating past us, and at 6 p. m., the wind having died away, we dropped anchor in *six fathoms water.* We found by throwing the log, a current setting southward about a mile and a half per hour. The soundings from the 21st had shown us that the bottom was a fine blue pipe-clay, which (mentioned by Hardy) indicated our approach to the mouth of the river. On the 24th we weighed anchor and ran over to the California shore, the water shoaling gradually from six fathoms to ten feet, and at night we anchored between Montague island (which we readily recognized by Hardy's description, see chart) and the main land. The country here is low, flat, and covered with dwarf reed and coarse grass. Thousands of trunks of trees lie scattered over its surface as far as the eye can reach, showing that it must be entirely overflowed at the season of freshets.

We landed on the 25th, both on Montague island and the main, and found the soil clay detritus and the vegetation scanty. The two islands situated in the mouth of the river, called by Hardy Montague and Gore, are low, flat and sandy. They are separated by a channel about one mile in width, and extremely shallow. They are evidently formed by the accumulation of the sand and detritus from the river, and are gradually increasing in size. We commenced the survey of the river upon the 25th, which we continued from day to day, as we ascend-

Ballecitas Mountains—Sketch, looking west.

ed. On the 27th, by taking advantage of the tide, we had succeeded in reaching Unwin's point, off which we anchored, and noticing the smoke of several fires in the distance, which we hoped might be at Major Heintzleman's encampment, fired several guns to warn him of our approach. The log gave us at this point a current at ebb tide of four miles and a half per hour, which we found to be the average velocity, except at spring tides, when it is much increased.

On the 28th we left our anchorage at 7 a. m., and beat up with the flood tide until about 9, when we grounded off Charles's point. The soundings had been from one and a half to three and three-fourths fathoms. At this point we found the water devoid of any brackish taste, but extremely muddy, resembling in its character that of the Mississippi river. We continued daily up the river, sounding the channel at low water, and marking it by stakes, starting with the flood-tide and floating with it until the ebb set in, when we anchored and went on shore to continue the survey. The shores of the river (here from two to four miles wide) continue of the same character, the grass growing somewhat more thickly as we ascended, however; and upon "Greenhithe[48] point," off which we anchored upon the 1st of January, we found a thick growth of artemisia. We had experienced no little difficulty in crossing from Charles's point to Greenhithe point; the channel is extremely narrow, and nearly at right angles to the direction of the river, and we had twice been swept from it by the tide and grounded upon the bank above. Upon the 1st, however, we were favored with a strong breeze, taking advantage of which we soon crossed and anchored in the channel upon the southern side. We landed upon Greenhithe point (formed by two small indentations in the crumbling clayey bank) and found the land on the south bank to be a perfectly level plain, (the soil clay detritus,) extending to the south and west for miles, and intersected by numerous sloughs, apparently filled by every spring tide. The river westward is bounded by the high hills of the lower California chain, at the distance apparently of fifteen or twenty miles. Trunks and limbs of large trees, some recently deposited, others in an advanced state of decay, are thickly scattered about, evidently left by the spring freshets. The river bank is abrupt and about twenty feet in height; the water is gradually undermining it, and large pieces are continually dropping off, falling into the water with a sound as loud and not unlike the distant report of a musket. We discovered two new islands in the reach above Greenhithe point; they are low and sandy, separated by a small channel and covered with coarse grass; they have undoubtedly been formed within a few years. The bed of the river is filled with quicksand, and its current at the time of spring tides is so strong that the channel is continually changing. I named these islands Gull and Pelican respectively, from the numerous flocks of these birds continually hovering or afloat in their vicinity. We discovered the remains of a rude Indian hut near the shore, and observed many tracks of horses in the vicinity.

During the night of the 1st the vessel grounding at ebb tide, swung around upon her heel, and thumping violently was carried by the tide (dragging her anchor) some two or three miles, grounding finally upon the shoal of Gull island;

at flood-tide sail was made on her as soon as she floated, and we succeeded in getting her back into the channel. As the vessel grounded at every ebb-tide, and on the return of the water was violently swung around, thumping on her bottom and swinging on her anchor, I began to see that it would be neither prudent, or in fact possible, to ascend the river much higher, and we accordingly commenced making preparation for a boating expedition; the tides were now on the increase, and on the 2d I observed, with the log, the velocity of the current at ebb-tide to be five and a half miles per hour. We observed on the 2d, for the first time, the singular phenomena of the tide coming in, in a bore or wave, while the ebb was still rushing past the vessel towards the gulf. On looking in the direction of Greenhithe point, a bank of water some four feet in height, extending clear across the river, was seen approaching us with equal velocity; this huge comber moved steadily onward, occasionally breaking as it rushed over the shoals of Gull and Pelican islands; passing the vessel, which it swung around on its course, it continued up the river. This phenomena was of daily occurrence until about the time of neap tides, and shows the truth of Hardy's assertion, that *"there is no such thing as slack-water in the river Colorado."* I took the whale-boat on the afternoon of the 2d and proceeded up the river with the flood-tide, rounding Howard's point, (so called by Hardy;) we found ourselves in a broad but shallow bay about four miles in width. At the northeast and northwest extremities we found the two branches of the river, the former of which he mistook for the Gila; this is in fact the main channel of the river, the other being merely a slough which divides the river, about a mile from its entrance, into two branches, one of which terminates in a small lagoon about four miles from its mouth, the other communicating with the river above. As there is not water enough in either of these branches to float a whale-boat at low tide, it is evident that the river must have altered entirely since Lieutenant Hardy's visit, or that he never ascended it as he says he did with the Briga [Bruja], a schooner of twenty-five tons. We sounded clear across the bay and found from two and a half feet to one and one-fourth fathoms. As the schooner was drawing eight feet, this settled the question as to her navigating the Colorado above this point.[49]

On the 3d, having ascended the river with the schooner to within four miles of the point reached the day previous with the whale-boat, we fired three heavy guns at short intervals, still hoping that Major Heintzleman's command was in hearing distance of us. The Captain, Mr. Ferrier, and myself then went on shore and walked into the country, over the level plain in the direction of the nearest range of hills. The soil is a mixture of sand and alumina, evidently overflowed and sparsely covered with coarse grass, reeds and flag, with here and there tufts of musquite. We observed many more foot-prints, both of men and horses, and found the remains of another rancheria; after proceeding some three miles we heard a gun from the schooner, and turning saw the ensign hoisted at the main. We immediately returned and discovered the cause of the commotion in the approach of fifteen or twenty Indians, attracted by the report of our guns in the morning. On arriving at the beach they laid aside their bows and

arrows, and made signs to us to approach, and addressed us in Spanish. We took six of them including their chief on board. They were very much like all other Indians, with coarse black hair, like a horse's mane, cropped straight across their eyes, and with no clothing except the inevitable dirty rag worn apron fashion about their loins; they were, however, a little nastier than any Indians I had ever before seen, being beplastered from head to foot with mud, with which some of them had filled their hair; one had on a linen coat, and another, to our great joy, an infantry great coat. After treating those on board with bread and molasses, I ascertained from the chief that they were acquainted with Major Heintzleman, and would carry a letter to him from me, which they said would take a day and a half; I accordingly prepared a letter, and having paid the chief in advance, sent him off with it.

We were frequently visited afterwards by these Indians and many others, to the number, perhaps, of two hundred; they call themselves the Co-co-pas, and live in a little village of from twenty to fifty inhabitants, dispersed about near the bank of the river; the men are very tall and strongly made as a general thing, and the women are modest, well behaved, and rather good-looking; their huts are precisely like those of the California Indians, made of sticks in a spherical or oven shape, and covered with dirt. They live on fish, small game, and bread made of grass seeds, and raise pumpkins, watermelons, &c., on little patches of ground which they cultivate; we found them very friendly, quiet and inoffensive; they brought fish to sell to us nearly every day, and though continually on board the vessel, we never missed even the most trifling article. Their arrows are made of reed with a pointed end of hard-wood, and their bows of willow, so that if they were disposed to be as hostile as had been falsely represented to us, they would be incapable of doing much damage. They were annoying visitors, however, pervading every part of the vessel, gazing at every thing that was going on, begging for shirts and other articles of clothing, and afflicted with a never-to-be-satisfied hunger. It was remarkable that although they had never seen a vessel before larger than their own reed rafts or balsas, they never expressed the least surprise at the *Invincible,* or anything connected with her, appearing to take our arrival as a matter of every day occurrence. The villages higher up the river own many horses, and the chiefs always rode when coming to visit us. I suppose the whole tribe may number one thousand, including men, women and children. The men frequently wear beads, rings, &c., in their noses, and paint their faces black and red with charcoal and ochre.

I sent off two other Indians with letters to Major Heintzleman, reporting our arrival, and having waited without a reply for more than a week, during which time the carpenter had been experimenting upon the long boat, putting a shaft with cranks and paddles in it, (which when tried proved of course a signal failure,) I concluded to continue the ascent of the river with a boat; the Indians who had visited us had frequently said that higher up the river lived a bad race of Indians who were thieves and murderers, (we found afterwards they meant the Yumas on the Gila;) I therefore had the long-boat armed with one

of the swivels, and taking provisions for ten days, started on the 11th with the Captain, Mr. Ferrier, and six men for the junction of the Gila. We reached Arnold's point (between the main channel of the Colorado and the western slough) about 9 a. m.; here a new island one-fourth of a mile square has been formed, but at present is covered at spring-tide. We rowed up the main channel (Hardy's Gila) about eleven miles, encamping at sundown on the bank. We found the river very winding, the depth of water in the channel varied from four to fifteen feet, and the action of the tide ceases to be discernible five miles above Arnold's point, or about forty miles from the mouth of the river. The banks are lined with rushes, cane, small willows and acacia, and occasionally we observed cottonwoods or poplars; the river was full of geese and ducks, and on the banks we observed many deer tracks of unusual size. The width of the river varies from two hundred yards to half a mile; we saw no Indians, though they had set fire to the rushes in our vicinity, and we noticed two of their rush balsas lying on the beach. The banks of the river were generally from ten to twenty feet high, of stratified clay.

On the morning of the 12th we continued our voyage, passing about four miles above our encampment to an Indian village, the inhabitants of which to the number of one hundred, among whom I recognized some old acquaintances, sat upon the bank watching our progress in silence. We passed another rancheria in the afternoon, near which lay an old scow built of wagon bodies, which had floated down from the ferry. We encamped at sundown, having made about twelve miles. The banks we observed in many places were of fine white sand. We saw a great deal of game during the day, and we found a well-trodden horse-trail running north and south about a mile in rear of our encampment. The velocity of the current on the river had been about one and a half and two miles per hour. Three Indians came up to our encampment from their village during the evening and presented us with a few pumpkins; they returned during the night. The banks were more thickly wooded than below, but we saw no large trees; we observed great numbers of bear and other tracks upon the banks. We started at sunrise on the 13th, and after pulling steadily forward about five miles as we rounded a bend, I observed at a distance a white object which I took for a house, but the splashing of the water by its sides glittering in the sun soon showed it was a boat. We fired our swivel immediately, and had the pleasure of having our salute replied to by two muskets. It was Major Heintzleman,[50] who, accompanied by Dr. Ogden and Mr. Henchelwood, (proprietors of the ferry) had left the post on the 11th, on receipt of my letter, and according to their estimate had descended the river over eighty miles. As the major had made field notes of the river from the time of leaving the Gila, I considered it unnecessary for me to proceed further, and we accordingly pulled down the river in company. We reached the schooner that afternoon, and on the 14th succeeded in getting her about three miles further up the river to a point two miles southeast of Arnold's point on the eastern side. Major Heintzleman left on the 15th, promising to send a party down immediately on his return to take charge of the provisions.

On the night of the 16th (spring-tide) the vessel surged so violently on her chain as to part it, and we lost our smaller anchor; and on the 18th the flood-tide wave coming in with great velocity, struck the vessel or her counter as she lay aground with great violence, carrying her around with it with such force as to snap the ring of the large anchor, and we found ourselves drifting rapidly up the stream towards Arnold's point. Our situation was one of great peril, for this being the highest spring-tide, if we had grounded above, the vessel must have been lost. But the captain with admirable coolness and self-possession seized the helm, and directing her towards the bank, ordered the men to leap from the jib-boom on shore with the kedge anchor, which fortunately brought her up.[51]

We then procured the largest logs that we could find, to which, when sunk in the ground, springs were attached from the vessel, and rigged out spars to keep her at a safe distance from the bank, thus rendering her as secure as possible; our situation was, however, a very unenviable one, as, apart from any danger that might arise in our present position, we had to dread the voyage down the river, which, without anchors, and liable continually to get aground, threatened to be extremely dangerous; the accident was, moreover, to be regretted, as preventing us from touching upon the California shore in search of harbors, and at the island of Tiburon, as I had intended; on our return, every exertion was made to recover the anchors, but without success.

We remained in this position until the 27th of January, without incident, occupying the time in exploring the western slough, putting up channel marks in the river, &c. We were visited almost daily by crowds of Indians, some of them from a considerable distance up the river; they generally brought fish with them to sell, and conducted themselves in the most friendly manner. The river appears to be most plentifully stocked with fish, principally salmon, trout and suckers; a species of perch is sometimes found; all the fish have an unpleasant, muddy taste, and their flesh is soft and watery.

Lieutenant Murray[52] arrived from Major Heintzleman's camp upon the Gila, on the 27th; he was accompanied by Dr. Ogden and a sergeant with eight men; they brought with them a wagon, and stated that the bank, for three miles above, was muddy; but as this was caused by the late overflow of the spring tides, I concluded that the ground would settle before the full moon, (15th February) and that the supplies might be safely landed; accordingly, upon the 28th, we landed all the provisions upon the bank, piling them up carefully on logs, and digging a ditch around them, and pitched tents for the men who were to remain with them. On the 29th we cast off from the bank, and floated down the river, taking advantage of the ebb tide. We got aground twice in going down, but fortunately got off at high water without accident, and on the 1st of February had crossed the bar at the mouth of the river, and were fairly in the Gulf of California on our return. The bar at the mouth of the Colorado is about ten, possibly fifteen miles in width; the soundings upon it are from ten feet to four fathoms; it is a very loose, muddy bottom, and with a stiff breeze

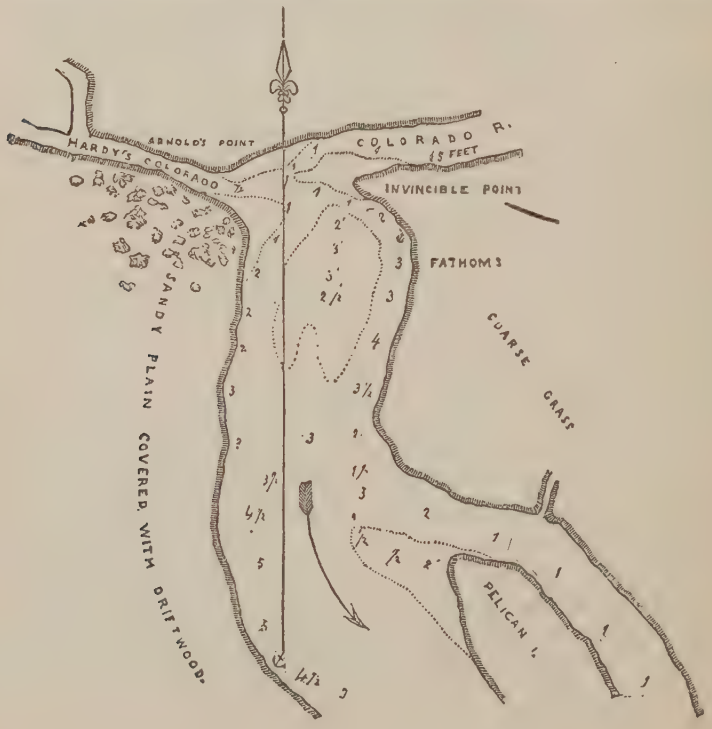
a vessel could force her way over it, even if drawing a foot or more than the lead would indicate. The distance from the junction of the Gila and Colorado to the mouth of the latter, by water, is about one hundred and four miles, owing to the many bends of the river, though the difference of latitude is but little more than half that distance.

The navigation of the Gulf of California presents none of those difficulties which we had been led to anticipate. The wind we found invariably from the north-west, which, at this season of the year, is its prevailing direction; it is only during the months of June, July and August that the gales from the south-east are prevalent; except in Whales' channel we noticed none of the strong currents so frequently mentioned as existing in the gulf. It would be difficult to mistake the entrance to the river, it being in fact the head of the gulf, which gradually narrows from forty to three miles when it is joined by the river, whose turbid stream discolors the gulf for many miles to the southward, in soundings of twelve and fourteen fathoms. On the Sonora coast, however, exists an indentation of some fifteen or twenty miles in depth, called by Hardy, Adair bay; the shoals of this can be seen from the mast head, a view from which would prevent one falling into the error which he did of supposing it a mouth of the Colorado. The angle at the junction of the slough and the main river is called Arnold's point, and from the mouth of the river (after crossing the bar) to this point, the channel varies in depth from fifteen to thirty feet, at ordinary high tide, and may, as we have practically demonstrated, be ascended by a vessel having a draft of eight or nine feet, by taking advantage of the flood, which has a velocity of from three to five miles per hour. It is impossible to sail up, however, for although the river varies in width from three miles to six hundred yards, the channel is narrow and the navigation elsewhere obstructed by the numerous sand bars. The proper method, after passing Gore and Montague islands through the western channel of the river, is that which we adopted, to drift with the flood tide, keeping close to the highest bank, sounding continually, and anchoring before the time of high water: in this way we progressed slowly but steadily, making, perhaps, four or five miles per day, until we arrived at the point where we finally landed the stores, which I have named, as will be seen by reference to the map, "Invincible point."

Above Arnold's point the river is very circuitous, the swell of the tide rapidly decreases, the channel becomes narrow, and the water has less depth. At this season, therefore, Arnold's point may be considered the head of navigation for vessels of nine feet draught; above this point we found always from three to fifteen feet of water in the channel, whose width varied from fifty to three hundred yards; and as the river at that time was at its lowest stage, I have no hesitation in saying that it may be navigated at any season of the year by a steamboat of eighteen or twenty feet beam, drawing two and a half to three feet water. A small stern-wheel boat, with a powerful engine and thick bottom, I would respectfully suggest to be a proper description of vessel for this navigation, where a strong current has to be contended with, and the channel, somewhat

obstructed by small snags and sawyers, is quite narrow in several places. At the present season (January, February and March) supplies from vessels arriving from the gulf may be landed near Arnold's point, upon the eastern bank, and a road being made from the post (a work of little difficulty over a level sandy plain) they might be transported by wagons across in three days. It would be preferable, however, to establish a depot by anchoring a hulk near Charles point, laden with stores, from which a small steamboat could carry more to the post in twenty-four hours than a hundred wagons could transport in a week. Either of these methods would be far preferable to the present slow, laborious and uncertain mode of supplying by wagons and pack mules across the desert from San Diego.

The time of high water at "full and change" at Arnold's point is 3h. 20m. p. m., and the rise of ordinary spring tides about twelve feet; but during the season of freshets the river throughout its extent (judging from the statement of the Indians and the indications upon the banks) is at least fifteen feet higher than at the time of our visit, and the velocity of the current which, above the effect of the tide, was from one to three miles an hour, is nearly doubled; the action of the tide ceases about forty miles from the mouth; the banks of the river are low, flat, and either sandy or of crumbling clay which appears to have been deposited in successive strata. Near the mouth there is no vegetation, but



higher up the shores are thickly lined with cane, rushes, small willows, acacia and cotton wood, and the country in the interior covered with a coarse sharp grass. The latitude of Invincible point is 30° 50′ 26″, its longitude 114° 46′ 43″ W. The subjoined sketch, on a larger scale than the map, will give a good idea of the topography of the vicinity of Arnold's point.

The large shoal south of the point is an island, except at spring tides, and is gradually increasing in size and height.

We reached Guyamas on our return on the 5th of February, and running into the harbor before a light breeze, let go the kedge anchor with sixty fathoms of chain, which we found would hold the vessel in still water. The British frigate *Meander* was lying in the harbor, and noticing as we passed her that we were without anchors, her commander, Captain Keppel, R. N., very handsomely sent a boat alongside us with every offer of assistance. We had, however, already accepted the kind offer of Mr. Southworth, owner of the schooner *Mary Phebe*, of San Francisco, who lent us one of his anchors until we could purchase one; this we succeeded in doing at a reasonable rate, and finding every thing in the way of fresh provisions exceedingly high in consequence of the presence of the frigate, we sailed upon the 9th for San Jose upon the California coast. I compared my chronometers with those of the *Meander* while at Guyamas; and experienced from her officers every kindness and attention in their power to offer.

We arrived at San Jose on the 11th. We found the roadstead open to the south from E. N. E. to S. W.; it is unsafe during certain seasons of the year; the bottom is very uneven, but the holding-ground good, being white sand. We found on our arrival the ship *Glasgow*, from Liverpool, and five coasters lying at anchor. The mission is situated about a mile from the beach, upon a small stream which, watering the valley of San Jose, divides into four small branches and empties into the sea at this point. The valley extends north some fifteen miles and is environed by the high and rugged mountains of the lower California range. The population of San Jose is between five and six hundred. A large number of Americans, I was informed, had settled in the valley above. The soil appears sandy, which is owing to a severe flood that occurred about eighteen months ago, washing away all the upper and richer surface into the sea, and forming the four branches of the stream which we noticed. Grapes were previously abundant; now there are but two or three vineyards. The sugar-cane and banana are cultivated here as well as sweet potatoes, pumpkins, Indian corn, &c., but the crop this season will be small, the inhabitants having abandoned their gardens during the working season and gone to the interior to avoid the cholera. Cattle, mules, swine and goats are bred in the vicinity, but of the first many perish on account of the drought which had been unusual, and was severely felt in the interior. I noticed here great numbers of a bird called the secretary. We sailed from San Jose on the 12th, having procured some vegetables of which we stood much in need, and after a long voyage of twenty-one days without any incident worthy of recording, arrived at San Francisco on the 6th day of March.

I have the honor to transmit herewith an extract of my journal kept during the voyage, showing the range of the thermometer, state of the weather, direction of the wind, and geographical position of the vessel for each day during the expedition. Also, a chart of the gulf and river Colorado, from its mouth to the junction of the Gila. The river is platted from my own notes as far north as Heintzleman's Point, above this from notes made by Major Heintzleman. The latitudes given are calculated from meridian altitudes of the sun, taken by Captain Wilcox, Mr. Ferrier and myself; the longitudes from a daily mean of nine observations taken for the error of our chronometers near 9 a. m., and when possible, as in port, from equal altitudes of the sun in the forenoon and afternoon.

I am, sir, with high respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. H. DERBY,
Brevet 1st Lieut. Topographical Engineers.

LIEUT. COL. J. HOOKER,
Adjutant General Pacific Division.

[The report is followed by 6 pages of "Abstract of a journal kept on board the United States transport *Invincible,* during her expedition to the Gulf of California and the river Colorado, from November, 1850, to March, 1851, by Geo. H. Derby, Lieut. Topographical Engineers" which contains no essential information of present value not included in the text of the report.]

NOTES TO LIEUTENANT DERBY'S REPORT ON THE GULF OF CALIFORNIA AND THE COLORADO RIVER

[44] *Travels in the Interior of Mexico, in 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828.* By Lieut. R. W. H. Hardy, R.N. London, 1829.

[45] Presumably Isaac (also known as Julian W.) Williams, who came to California in 1832 and settled in Los Angeles. He was one of Ewing Young's trappers from New Mexico.

[46] Guaymas was summoned to surrender, October 19, 1847, but as some little resistance was offered, American marines landed and the *Dale,* then occupying the harbor, opened fire. The engagement, however, was soon over.

[47] Persifor Frazer Smith.

[48] Printed "Green Hithe" in the original report. Hardy gave the name as "Greenhithe." Derby uses "Greenhithe" in his "abstract."

[49] An excellent digest of the narratives of Hardy and Derby is given in *The Colorado River: Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow,* by Lewis R. Freeman (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1923). Mr. Freeman is of the opinion that Hardy's channel was at the time he entered it the main course of the river; Derby's first surmise is, therefore, probably correct, for Hardy's account is unimpeachable.

[50] Samuel Peter Heintzelman, of Pennsylvania, captain of the 2d Infantry (brevet major), afterwards major general in the Civil War.

[51] Freeman (*op. cit.*) discusses this incident and commends the seamanship of the skipper.

[52] Edward Murray, of Maryland, first lieutenant in the 2d Infantry, afterwards in the Confederate army.

WESTERN HISTORY

A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West*

Barry, J. Neilson

Oregon boundaries. *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, Sept. 1932, pp. 259-67.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene

The Padre on horseback. A sketch of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., apostle to the Pimas. San Francisco: The Sonora Press, 1932. 91 pp., front.; map on end sheets.

Burlingame, Merrill G.

The contribution of Iowa to the formation of the State government of California in 1849. *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* April,1932. [The Constitution of Iowa, through the influence of W. M. Gwin, was the basis of the California document.]

Carey, Charles H.

Lee, Waller and McLoughlin. *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, Sept. 1932, pp. 187-213.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin

The American fur trade of the far West. [Second edition.] With introduction, annotations and supplementary chapters on the fur trade of the far Southwest by Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Washington, D.C.: The Pioneer Press, 1932. 2 vols.

Coleman, Edmond T.

Puget Sound and the Northern Pacific Railroad. *Washington Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXIII, No. 4, Oct. 1932, pp. 243-60.

Emmett, Chris

Texas camel tales. Incidents growing up around an attempt by the War Department of the United States to foster an uninterrupted flow of commerce through Texas by the use of camels. San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Printing Company, 1932. xv+275 pp., illus.

Farquhar, Francis P.

Edward Vischer & his "Pictorial of California." San Francisco: [privately printed by the Grabhorn Press] 1932. 9 pp., illus. (A biographical sketch as told by Hubert Vischer to Francis P. Farquhar in November 1930 and January 1931.)

Grinnell, Joseph

Archibald Menzies, first collector of California birds. *The Condor* (Magazine of Ornithology), Vol. 34, 1932, pp. 243-252. [Sketch of Menzies' life with extended excerpts from his journal as published in this *Quarterly,* Vol. II, pp. 265-340.]

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* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazine and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary of the Society the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—Charles L. Camp.

HASTINGS, LANSFORD W.
Emigrants' guide to Oregon and California. Narratives of the trans-Mississippi frontier series. Princeton University Press, 1932.

HILL, JIM DAN
The early mining camp in American life. *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 1, pp. 295-311, (Sept. 1932)

KELLEY, HALL J.
On Oregon. Narratives of the trans-Mississippi frontier series. Princeton University Press, 1932.

LANGWORTHY, FRANKLIN
Scenery of the plains, mountains and mines. Narratives of the trans-Mississippi frontier series. Princeton University Press, 1932.

LEADER, HERMAN A.
McLoughlin's answer to Warre Report. *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, Sept. 1932, pp. 214-29.

LOCKWOOD, FRANCIS CUMMINS
Pioneer days in Arizona, from the Spanish occupation to statehood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932. xiv, 387 pp., illus., maps. 8vo.

LOTHROP, MARION LYDIA
The Indian campaigns of General M. G. Vallejo. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Sept. 1932, pp. 161-205.

MCCOY, JOSEPH G.
Historic sketches of the cattle trade of the West and Southwest. Washington, D. C.: The Rare Book Shop, 1932. 460 pp., illus. 8vo [Reprint of 1874 edition. Limited edition.]

MACKEY, MARGARET GILBERT, AND SOOY, LOUISE PINKNEY
Early California costumes. Stanford University Press, 1932. 144 pp., 25 illus. [Costumes worn by Indians, Spaniards, and American pioneers in the Spanish Southwest, in the period 1769 to 1847, illustrated and described.]

MERK, FREDERICK
British party politics and the Oregon Treaty. *Amer. Hist. Review*, July, 1932.

PACKMAN, ANA BEGUE
Leather dollars: short stories of Pueblo Los Angeles. Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Press, 1932. 79 pp., illus. 12mo.

PAGE, ELIZABETH
Wild horses and gold from Wyoming to the Yukon. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1932. 362 pp. 8vo.

PARR, LOUISE L.
Sketch of the Life of Dick [Cephas] Parr. *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 9, No. 1, July, 1932, pp. 649-65.

PHILLIPS, CATHERINE COFFIN
Portsmouth Plaza, the cradle of San Francisco. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1932. 464 pp., illus.

PIKE, CORP. JAMES

Scout and ranger. Narratives of the trans-Mississippi frontier series. Princeton University Press, 1932.

RAUP, HALLOCK F.

The German colonization of Anaheim, California. University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 6, No. 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932. 22 pp., illus., map, diagrs. 4to.

RICHIE, ELEANOR

General Mano Mocha of the Utes and Spanish policy in Indian relations. *The Colorado Magazine,* Vol. IX, No. 4, July, 1932, pp. 150-57.

ROYCE, SARAH ELEANOR

A Frontier lady. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. [Recollections of the overland gold rush in 1849 and early California, by the mother of Josiah Royce.]

SAWYER, ROBERT W.

Henry Larcom Abbot and the Pacific Railroad surveys in Oregon, 1855. (Reprinted with corrections and additions from *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* March and June, 1932.) 48 pp.

SHIRAS, WINFIELD

The Man history forgot. The story of William Walker and his war. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932. illus.

STANTON, ROBERT BREWSTER

Colorado River controversies. Edited by James M. Chalfant. Foreword by Julius F. Stone. New York: Dodd, Mead. 279 pp., illus., maps. 8vo. [A history of Colorado River explorations which affirms Major Powell's claim of being its first explorer.]

TAYLOR, E. G. R. [Ed.]

Francis Drake and the Pacific: two fragments [documents]. *Pacific Historical Review,* Vol. 1, pp. 360-69, 1 pl. (Sept. 1932.)

VAN SICKLEN, HELEN PUTNAM

The Life and times of General M. G. Vallejo. *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers,* Vol. IX, No. 3, Sept. 1932, pp. 143-60.

VESTAL, STANLEY

Sitting Bull, champion of the Sioux; a biography. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. 366 pp. (2 pp. bibl.), illus., map, 8vo. [Intimate life story of the warrior who directed the forces against Custer.]

WATT, ROBERTA FREYE

The Story of Seattle. Seattle, Wash.: Lowman and Hanford, 1932.

WYLLYS, RUFUS KAY

The French of California and Sonora. *Pacific Historical Review,* Vol. 1, pp. 337-59 (Sept. 1932). [Particularly the filibusters.]

WYMAN, WALKER D.

Bullwhacking: a prosaic profession peculiar to the Great Plains. *New Mexico Historical Review,* Vol. VII, No. 4, Oct. 1932, pp. 297-310.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Grabhorn Press: Americana Reprints

No. II. The Diary of Johann August Sutter. With an introduction by Douglas S. Watson. San Francisco, 1932. (Reprinted from the San Francisco "Argonaut," January-February, 1878.) [iv]+56 pp. +[5] pp. facsimile of Sutter's roster of forces, illus.

No. III. John Bradford's Historical &c Notes on Kentucky. From The Western Miscellany. Compiled by G. W. Stipp [and published in Xenia, Ohio,] in 1827. With an Introduction by John Wilson Townsend. San Francisco, 1932. [xvi]+205+[6] pp., map. (The "Notes" have been corrected by comparison with files of the Kentucky Gazette in which they first appeared in 1826-27.)

These, with *Joaquin Murieta, the Brigand Chief of California,* which was noted in the last number of this *Quarterly,* are the first three of a series of ten reprints of rare volumes of Americana announced by the Grabhorn Press. Two others, *California in 1837, the Diary of Col. Philip L. Edwards,* and a new edition of the famous "Shirley Letters" from the mines, are at present on the press.

Each of these old books, in its new dress of fine typography and illustration, is introduced to the modern public by a competent speaker, under the general editorial supervision of Douglas S. Watson. The story of the story of Murieta, as told by Francis P. Farquhar, is almost as interesting, if not as terrifying, as the escapades of the bandit himself. Mr. Watson's sympathetic sketch of the life of Sutter provides a good setting for the affecting narrative of the old adventurer. Mr. Townsend's introduction to John Bradford serves well its purpose of convincing the reader that "Old Wisdom" knew whereof he spoke. There is every reason to believe that the forthcoming volumes will receive as tasteful treatment at the hands of the editors.

The various items in the series are, of course, not of equal historical importance. Murieta was a legend even before Captain Harry Love brought in the grisly proof that his reign of terror was ended, and it could hardly be expected that the anonymous writer for the *California Police Gazette* would examine the materials of his "criminal history" very critically.*

Sutter's so-called "Diary," in fact a memorandum drawn up for the information of the lawyers who were prosecuting his land claims, is an important document, not to be confused with the "New Helvetia Diary" or day book of the trading post, kept by various hands, and now in the possession of the Pioneer Society. "Sutter's Diary" is the only connected narrative which the fallen lord of New Helvetia left. Simply written, in the same Germanic English which the old man spoke, it is full of feeling and brings us closer to him than any number of books written about him could do. The Grabhorns have done a real service in making it readily available.

The history of Kentucky may seem at first thought rather remote from that

* Through the courtesy of Mr. Edwin Grabhorn we insert a reproduction (reduced in size) of the probably unique Murieta poster in his collection.

WILL BE
EXHIBITED
FOR ONE DAY ONLY!

AT THE STOCKTON HOUSE!

THIS DAY, AUG. 12, FROM 9 A. M., UNTIL 6, P. M.

THE HEAD

Of the renowned Bandit!

JOAQUIN!

AND THE

HAND OF THREE FINGERED JACK!

THE NOTORIOUS ROBBER AND MURDERER.

"JOAQUIN" and "THREE-FINGERED JACK" were captured by the *State Rangers*, under the command of Capt. Harry Love, at the Arroya Cantina, July 24th. No reasonable doubt can be entertained in regard to the identification of the head now on exhibition, as being that of the notorious robber, *Joaquin Murialla*, as it has been recognised by hundreds of persons who have formerly seen him.

of California, but in the determined advance of the land-hungry Anglo-Saxon pioneers over the Alleghanies, across the "Dark and Bloody Ground" and down the westward-flowing rivers, so vividly pictured in "Old Jawn's" notes, we can see the die of our destiny already cast. When we read that in the spring of 1769 Daniel Boone led his first expedition into the Wilderness, we think of that other band which at the same time was setting out with such high hopes for Alta California, all unconscious of the force gathering in the East to overwhelm them, and we realize that the first expedition was fraught with more enduring consequences for California than the second.

These colorful scenes in the same great pageant, most artistically presented by the Grabhorn brothers, are of great importance to collectors of Western Americana, and further notice of the books in this series will be published as they appear.

GEORGE EZRA DANE.

Forgotten Frontiers, a Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. xviii+420 pp. Maps.

Forgotten Frontiers—forgotten people! The title of this book is a reminder of the fact that in the Southwest, bordering on the area once labeled the "Great American Desert," live people whose historical record is unknown in this great country to all but a few. Aside from a slight "newspaper" knowledge of some Indian ceremonials, "dances," we call them, which make good reading for Mr. Average Man, he little dreams that the Indians of the mesas and canyons of New Mexico lived side by side with white men long before the United States conquered the territory from Mexico in 1846. Yet when it is learned that white men were actually building homes and churches on the Rio Grande before they did on the River James, the thought borders on the incredible for many.

Yes, "The sweep of the Anglo-Saxon has blurred their silhouette (of the forgotten frontiers) and fathered the illusion that western history runs only with the nineteenth century." The westward movement for the historian, western novels for the lay reader, have beclouded the horizon of early southwestern lore and obscured the view. But the curtain is rising. Books like *Forgotten Frontiers* are paving the way for a new evaluation of American history; they are filling in the life story of achievement and failure, of both red men and white, in these early centuries, and making the Southwest less of a "great American desert" historically.

In *Forgotten Frontiers* Mr. Thomas deals only with a short period of New Mexican history, the decade of Juan Bautista de Anza's governorship, 1777-1787. This same Anza had just completed two remarkable expeditions to California, opening the overland road from Mexico to the western coast through Arizona, and bringing with him the colonists who formed the nucleus of San Francisco. Anza's distinguished services as governor of New Mexico brought him into contact with the Indians at every turn, for his province was literally surrounded with fierce and hostile people. Within a year of his arrival at his new post he inaugurated

a victorious campaign against the warlike Comanches, and later arranged a peace with them which lasted a generation—that is, till Spain's colonies began to fall away.

Anza next proceeded to the conversion of the Moquis, of northeastern Arizona, an object long sought but never realized, and led an expedition to their land; but he too returned without succeeding in his quest. Without delay now, for this had been impressed upon him as especially urgent, he set out with the purpose of opening a route from Santa Fe to the settlements in Sonora. Though he did not find as direct a route as hoped for, his exploration was important, and he pointed the way to a more direct course to the Gila River by way of the Mogollon ridge. Significant, too, was Anza's triumph over the Gila and Navajo Apaches who absorbed his energies for several years.

In view of the permanent value of *Forgotten Frontiers* it is regrettable that it is marred by slips in editing and that the translation is not always readable. Eighty-four pages are devoted to a general introduction and interpretation of the documents which follow. The printing has been done with care and artistic touch. Mr. Thomas has made a real contribution to early western history.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND.

The French in Sonora (1850-1854) The Story of French Adventurers from California into Mexico. By Rufus Kay Willys, Ph.D., Vol. 21, University of California Publications in History, Berkeley, 1932. 8vo, xii+319 pp., illust.

In this volume Mr. Willys, some of whose scholarly work has appeared in this *Quarterly*, traces the influences which led Frenchmen from California to attempt the invasion of Sonora during the 'fifties, and discusses the men who led the several expeditions. Emphasis is naturally placed on Charles de Pindray and on Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon, whose careers are traced in detail. Mr. Wyllys has been at work on this study for some years, and has spent much time in research both in this country and in Mexico. His book fills a long-felt want, for little has been hitherto available in collected form (at least in English) on these remarkable filibustering expeditions, by which Frenchmen who had been disillusioned in the California of the Gold-Rush sought to erect a French state on the Pacific Coast of Mexico.

IN MEMORIAM

EDWARD JESURUN

Mr. Edward Jesurun, born in Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, the son of the United States Consul, came to California as a young man, engaged in mining, worked for the Southern Pacific Company, operated pack trains in Mexico, engaged in the drayage and livestock business in Los Angeles, and afterwards became a cotton broker in New Orleans. Upon his return to California in 1913 he became connected with the Palo Alto Mutual Building and Loan Association, and later, because of failing health, took up the duties of a ranger in the Yosemite National Park. He joined this society in 1924, and died on October 29, 1932.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Wednesday, September 21, 1932. The speaker was Mr. David Rhys Jones and his topic, "What the Indians Remember of the First Overland Traveler to California, Jedediah Smith."

Mr. Jones, who has made a study of the Indian systems of education in the northern part of the state, took as his theme the journey of Jedediah S. Smith's party of American trappers through the northern mountains of California in 1828 as retold a century later by the various Indian groups through whose country Smith and his venturesome Americans traveled. He outlined the history of Smith's explorations and described his journey to California in 1826 by the Gila River, and his return over the Sierra and across Nevada. This was followed by a more detailed account of Smith's return and his journey up the Sacramento Valley, along the course of the Trinity River and of the Klamath to the ocean and thence along the coast into Oregon.

The Klamath River was crossed by these pre-pioneers near the Indian village of Weitchpec, forty miles above the mouth of the Klamath. Details of the appearance of these Americans with their bearded faces, their strange animals, and incidents of their intercourse with the Indians in this region were recounted to the speaker by these Indians recently, more than a hundred years after Smith's appearance among them. The speaker explained that the Indians preserved their law and lore by oral teaching to the promising members of high families in each group of Indians, and that the investigator must seek among these particular members whatever he may wish to ascertain of Indian culture. The name "Smith River" in northern California now commemorates the journey of these first overland pioneers to California.

There were sixty-three members and guests present.

On Wednesday, October 19, 1932, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Mr. Carl I. Wheat was the speaker, his subject, "Pioneers!—The Engaging Tale of Three Early California Printing Presses and Their Strange Adventures."

The three presses were the Zamorano Press, which reached California in 1832 and printed various official decrees for Governor Figueroa before being used by Walter Colton and Robert Semple to print the first newspaper published in California; the press brought by Samuel Brannan in 1847 and used to print the first newspaper published in San Francisco [Yerba Buena], and the press brought by John Judson Ames to San Diego in 1851.

Mr. Wheat followed each press through the changes of ownership, and through the vicissitudes and adventures that were consequent. Each served as a background to the personalities that successively owned the presses. Each personality recalled much early history that centered about the various towns where the presses were used. The last of these presses is now to be seen at the museum of Henry Ford at Dearborn, Michigan.

There were between fifty and fifty-five members and guests present.

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Wednesday, November 16, 1932. Mr. M. M. O'Shaughnessy spoke on "The Water Supply of San Francisco and Vicinity, an Historical and Intimate Discussion of this Essential Public Utility."

He referred briefly to the early use of Mountain Lake as a source, and passed quickly over the intervening years to the beginning of negotiations with the Government for the use of Hetch-Hetchy Valley and the flood waters of the Tuolumne River. He followed each of the successive steps of negotiation and construction down to the present time. In passing he described various engineering features of the work. He also detailed the unfinished items of construction and gave the approximate date of completion of each. He gave some insight into the difficulties that beset a municipal officer and the delays that are entailed by municipal methods in dealing with complex construction projects.

There were thirty-nine members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY SINCE SEPTEMBER 1, 1932

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From Mr. Albert M. Bender:—*A Friendship—Robert Louis Stevenson, Jules Simoneau,* printed for A. A. Brown by Taylor, Nash and Taylor, San Francisco, 1911 (autographed by H. B. Blatchly, A. A. Brown, W. R. K. Young, J. H. Nash, and J. D. Blake); *John Galen Howard, 1864-1931* [San Francisco: American Institute of Architects, 1931]; *Joaquin Murieta, the Brigand Chief of California,* San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932; *Our Golden Jubilee (August Schilling and George F. Volkmann),* A. Schilling and Company, San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1931; *Inspiration* (Letters to August Schilling) San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932; Bendon, Dorothe, *Mirror Images,* New York, 1931 (autog. by Gertrude Atherton); Bland, Henry Meade, *The University of California,* San José, 1930, inscribed by the author to Albert Bender); Bolton, Herbert E., *The Padre on Horseback, a Sketch of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J.,* San Francisco, The Sonora Press, 1932; Bierce, Ambrose, *The Shadow on the Dial and Other Essays,* San Francisco, 1909; Bremer, Anne, *The Unspoken and Other Poems,* San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1927; *Tributes to Anne Bremer,* San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1927 (autog. by Albert M. Bender); Coolbrith, Ina, *California,* San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1918; *Idem, A Perfect Day,* San Francisco, 1881 (autog.); Dawson, Emma Frances, *Old Glory,* San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1918; Dollar, Robert, *Memoirs* (4 vols. in 3), San Francisco, 1927, 1922, 1928 (inscribed by the author to Albert M. Bender); Field, Sara Bard, *Barabbas,* New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1932 (autog.); *Idem, Speech of, Presenting to Congress . . . the Marble Busts of Three Suffrage Pioneers . . .* San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1921; *Idem, The Vintage Festival,* San Francisco: Printed by John Henry Nash for the Book Club of California, 1920 (autog.); Field, Stephen J., *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California with Other Sketches,* printed for a few friends [1880]; Irish, Col. John P., *Remarks Made at the Funeral of Stephen T. Gage,* San Francisco, privately printed, 1931; Irwin, Inez Haynes, *The Californiacs,* San Francisco, 1916 (insc. to Albert Bender by the author and Charles K. Field); *Idem, The Native Son,* San Francisco, 1919; Jackson, Joseph Henry, *Christmas by the Golden Gate,* Boston and New York, 1928 (autog.); Jeffers, Robinson, *Cawdor and Other Poems,* New York, 1928 (lim. signed ed.); *Idem, Dear Judas and Other Poems,* New York, 1929 (lim. signed ed.); *Descent to the Dead,* New York: Random House, Inc., 1931 (lim. signed ed.); *Idem, Thurso's Landing and Other Poems,* New York, [1932] (inscribed by the author to Albert M. Bender); Johnson, Cecil, *A Bibliography of the Writings of George Sterling,* San Francisco, The Windsor Press, 1931; London, Charmian, *George Sterling—As I Knew Him,* reprinted from *Overland Monthly,* March, 1927; Markham, Edwin, *New Poems—Eighty Songs at Eighty,* New York, 1932 (autog.); Marsh, George Turner, and Wyckoff, Harry W., *Citizenship for Nations,* San Francisco,

1931 (inscribed to Albert Bender by Marsh); Reid, Hugo, *The Indians of Los Angeles County,* Los Angeles, privately printed, 1926; Ross, Blake, *The Golden Crucible,* San Francisco, 1930 (autog.); Schaeffauer, Herman, *The Sons of Baldur, . . . "High Jinks" of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco,* 1908; Simpson, Anna Pratt, *Problems Women Solved . . . The Woman's Board of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition,* San Francisco, 1915 (autog.); Smith, Clark Ashton, *The Star-Treader and Other Poems,* San Francisco, 1912; Smith, Sarah Bixby, *Adobe Days,* Los Angeles, 1931; Sterling, George,* *Beyond the Breakers and Other Poems,* San Francisco, 1914; *Idem, The Binding of the Beast and Other War Verse,* San Francisco, 1917; another copy, bound in morocco and inscribed to Senator James D. Phelan; *Idem, The Caged Eagle and Other Poems,* San Francisco, 1916 (autog.); *Idem, The Evanescent City,* San Francisco, 1916; *Idem, Lilith,* San Francisco, 1919 (insc. by the author to James Duval Phelan); *Idem, Ode on the Opening of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition,* San Francisco, 1915 (insc. by the author to James Duval Phelan; *Idem, Rosamund,* San Francisco, 1920 (insc. to Hon. James D. Phelan); *Idem, Sails and Mirage and Other Poems,* San Francisco, 1921 (autog. by Albert M. Bender to whom it is dedicated); *Idem, Selected Poems,* New York, 1923 (insc. by the author to James D. Phelan); *Idem, Strange Waters* (insc. by the author for the Hon. James Duval Phelan); *Idem, Thirty-five Sonnets,* The Book Club of California, San Francisco, 1917; *Idem, A Wine of Wizardry and Other Poems,* San Francisco, 1909 (insc. by the author to James D. Phelan); *Idem, Yosemite,* San Francisco, 1916 (insc. by the author for James Duval Phelan); Stevenson, Lionel, *George Sterling's Place in Modern Poetry,* reprinted from the *University of California Chronicle,* Oct. 1929 (autog.); Taylor, Edward Robeson, *Address on the Occasion of the Celebration by the St. Andrew's Society of San Francisco of the One Hundred and Fifty-third Anniversary of the Birth of Robert Burns,* San Francisco, 1912 (autog.); Wilson, Woodrow, *The President's War Message . . . April 2, 1917,* San Quentin Print; Wood, Charles Erskine Scott, *Poems from the Ranges,* San Francisco, 1929; *Idem, The Poet in the Desert* (New Version), Portland, Oregon, 1918 (autog.); *Idem,* and Field, Sara Bard, *The Beautiful Wedding* [Privately printed by Edwin & Robert Grabhorn, 1929], Williams, Samuel, *The City of the Golden Gate—a Description of San Francisco in 1875,* San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1921.

From Mr. J. C. Cebrian—Cebrian, Juan C., *Entrega de la Casa Natal de Fray Junipero Serra* [printed in Madrid, 1932].

From Mr. Francis P. Farquhar and Mr. Edwin Grabhorn—Farquhar, Francis P., *Edward Vischer & His "Pictorial of California,"* San Francisco: [The Grabhorn Press], 1932 (autog. by the author and Edwin Grabhorn).

From A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.—*Episodes of History in the Stories of the United States and the Insurance Company of North America . . .* 1792-1917, privately printed, 1916; *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School at San José, California, Advent, 1860, to Easter, 1903,* San Jose, 1903.

From Mrs. James C. Moss (for the Melville Schweitzer Memorial collection)—*The Diary of Johann August Sutter, with an Introduction by Douglas S. Watson,* San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1932 (autog. by Douglas S. Watson and Edwin Grabhorn).

From Mr. Sheldon Pennoyer—*Bosquejo Historico del V. P. F. Junipero Serra,* 1913.

From Princeton University Press—Johnson, Overton, and Winter, William H., *Route Across th Rocky Mountains,* Princeton, 1932; Robinson, Jacob S., *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonal Doniphan,* Princeton, 1932; Villard, Henry, *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions,* Princeton, 1932; Ware, Joseph E., *The Emigrants' Guide to California,* Princeton, 1932.

From Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Rensch—Rensch, Hero Eugene and Ethel Grace, *Historic Spots in California—The Southern Counties,* Stanford University, 1932 (autog.).

From Mr. E. O. Sawyer, Jr.,—Sawyer, Edmund Ogden, *Our Sea Saga—The Wood Wind Ships,* San Francisco [1929].

From Hon. Robert W. Sawyer—Sawyer, Robert W., *Henry Larcom Abbot and the Pacific Railroad Surveys in Oregon, 1855,* reprinted from *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* March and June, 1932.

From Mrs. Melville Schweitzer (for the Melville Schweitzer Memorial Collection)—Irwin, Will, *The City That Was, a Requiem of Old San Francisco,* New York, 1906; Neville, Amelia Ransome, *The Fantastic City—Memories of the Social and Romantic Life of Old San Francisco,* Boston and New York, 1932; Peters, Charles, *Autobiography,* Sacramento, 1915.

From Mr. Robert Walsh—*Constitution and By-laws of the Association of Territorial Pioneers of California,* 1874.

From Mr. Rufus Kay Wyllis—*The French in Sonora (1850-1854),* Berkeley, 1932.

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* Most of the Sterling items given by Mr. Bender were formerly part of the collection of the late Senator James D. Phelan.

BROADSIDES

From Mr. Albert M. Bender—"Anne," by Witter Bynner; "Sterling," by Henry Louis Mencken, San Francisco, printed by John Henry Nash for his friends, 1926.

PERIODICALS*

From Mr. Albert M. Bender, *Arthur McEwen's Letter,* Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 17, 1894, to Vol. III, No. 11, June 5, 1895, and *Arthur McEwen Answered,* Vol. I, No. 1, March 10, 1894 (in a slip case); *The Fortnightly,* Vol. 1, No. 1, Sept. 11, 1931, to Vol. 2, No. 18, May 6, 1932 (in a slip case). (Complete files.)

From Miss Florence R. Keene, editor—*Westward, a Magazine of Verse.*

From Mr. James H. Roxburgh—Several numbers of *South of Market Journal.*

From Mrs. Melville Schweitzer—*Touring Topics,* May and June, 1932; *Overland Monthly* (Jack London edition), May, 1932.

From the Society of California Pioneers—*Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers.*

PICTURES

From Mrs. Leslie L. Armstrong—Photograph of General Grant, John Mackey, James G. Fair and others on their visit to the mines at Virginia City, Nevada; also five stereoscopic views of San Francisco.

From Mr. Albert M. Bender—The Golden Gate, San Francisco, from a photograph by Ansel Easton Adams; framed photographs of Ina Coolbrith, William Keith, George Sterling, and Charles Erskine Scott Wood.

From Caterpillar Tractor Company—Photograph, taken in 1905, showing C. L. Best and party in a nine-passenger automobile.

From Miss Beatrice Kelliher—Thirteen small views of Santa Cruz and vicinity in the early 80's; (also various calling and business cards, many of them with the insignia of the Knights of Pythias).

From Miss Elizabeth Peck—Daguerreotype of Captain John Henderson, who came to San Francisco about 1850, and a friend; photograph of Miss Phyllis Henderson taken about the time of her graduation from the City Female Seminary in 1870.

From Rotary Club de Mallorca—Seven photographs of the house in Petra, Mallorca, in which Padre Junípero Serra was born, one of the town of Petra, and one of the Serra monument there.

From Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin—Photograph of a portrait of Thomas O. Larkin; photograph of the Larkin House at Monterey.

From Mr. Robert Walsh—Three photographs of Golden Gate Park after a snowstorm in the 80's; photograph of St. Ignatius temporary college after the fire of 1906; and other photographs; also San Francisco *Examiner* Supplement, July 8, 1906, showing Ruins from Nob Hill to Russian Hill.

MISCELLANEOUS

From Mr. Albert Bender—Flask given to Jack London by a group of his friends before he embarked in the *Snark;* on his death presented by his wife, Charmian London, to his friend George Sterling, and later presented by Sterling to Mr. Bender; opera program—Opening of San Francisco's War Memorial Opera House, 1932, and two tickets used on the opening night.

From the Edison Institute of Technology—Photostat of *The Alta California,* Feb. 1, 1851, the original of which was printed on satin.

From Mrs. June Foster—over 1000 legal documents, bills, receipts, letters, etc., dating from 1850 to 1921.

From Xth Olympiade Committee—Olympic Games posters, tickets and programs.

From Miss Elizabeth Peck—Diploma of Miss Phyllis M. Henderson, graduate of May, 1870, from the City Female Seminary, San Francisco.

From Mr. Robert Walsh—Badge of Golden Gate Lodge No. 6, B. P. O. Elks (probably 1878 or 1879); Badge of Grand Parlor, N. S. G. W., 1915.

From Mrs. George Wright (Elizabeth Cyrus)—Typewritten MS. "Early Upper Napa Valley."

* Exchanges have not been included in this list.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Allen, Edward O.	Berkeley, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Edgerton, Robert H.	Fresno, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
White, Stewart Edward	Burlingame, Calif.	Douglas S. Watson
Williamson, Willard F.	San Francisco	Ernest A. Wiltsee

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QUARTERLY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume XI, 1932

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